The Outlook

AUGUST 24, 1921

GENERAL BADOGLIO AGREES WITH DR. TIGERT

GENERAL PIETRO BADOGLIO, second in command of the Italian army during the World War and now Chief of Staff, is visiting America. Everywhere he has received notable attention from the American Army. Many Italians who have served in the war put on their Alpini, Arditi, or Bersaglieri uniforms that they might the better greet the Commander. The high esteem in which General Badoglio is held in Italy lends interest to any comment he may make concerning America.

On August 10, journeying across the continent, he made this reported statement: "American cities are growing at an amazing rate, but the growth must be checked. I have seen great stretches of farm land devoid of habitation. This land must be cultivated to keep up the balance between industry and agriculture. If this principle be ignored, the United States will become more dependent upon imports than England herself."

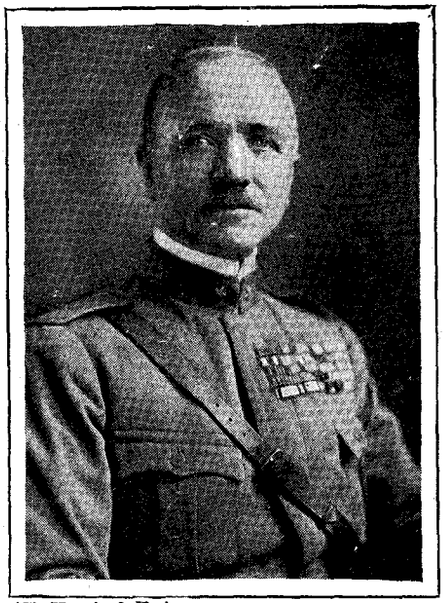
Some days previous, Dr. John J. Tigert, United States Commissioner of Education, in an address at Rutgers College declared: "The rapid urbanization of the country population is a serious matter. It was the chief cause of the fall of Rome." Writing to The Outlook with regard to this, Dr. Tigert admits that opinions differ as to the cause of the fall of Rome and that other factors have been mentioned as contributory—the unequal distribution of wealth, failure to work out a representative form of government, internal dissensions, immorality, etc.—but that among students of the problem a too greatly urbanized population is construed to be one of the fundamental causes. The urbanization tendency is pronounced here. Dr. Tigert adds:

"In all the States in which I have studied the returns, notwithstanding the increase in the population in the entire State, there has been a decrease in population in a very large number of counties."

OUR RURAL SCHOOLS

IF economic causes primarily account for the urban tendency in America, there are also social causes. Among the latter is the lack of attractiveness, capacity, convenience, and good teaching force in our rural schools. Two-thirds of our schools are country schools. Out of the whole number the vast majority are one-room schools.

Again, there is the eternal question of



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GENERAL PIETRO BADOGLIO, CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ITALIAN ARMY

teachers' salaries. During the war some 68,000 teachers left their profession because they were insufficiently paid (in 1916 the average teacher's salary, including elementary and high school teachers, was $563 a year).

Unless we give the country boys and girls a "square deal" we cannot solve the country problems. The method by which one county in Mississippi has met the needs of its children is graphically

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JOHN J. TIGERT, U. S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

described by Dr. Buttrick, President of the General Education Board, in an article elsewhere in this issue. The example set by Pearl River County is one which many other sections of the United States will do well to heed.

Of course it may be said that the United States is spending more than any other nation on its schools, and, moreover, that in every State laws compel school attendance. But we do not spend enough and our laws are not enforced, declares Mr. Tigert. Only about half of the 27,000,000 children of school age in the United States, he affirms, required to be in the schools, have been actually in attendance. Only about 20,000,000, he declares, were enrolled in the schools, and of these some 5,000,000 were habitually absent. However, school attendance has lately been gratifyingly increased.

The result of our system of education, rural especially, was indicated in the late war. One out of five thousand German soldiers was illiterate. But when our American recruits were put to the test of writing a few sentences nearly one-third, approximately four hundred thousand out of a million and a half, were unable to meet even this low standard of literacy.

HELP TO THE FARMERS

THE farmer has been hard hit. Indeed, the recent necessary restriction of credit has hit him harder than it has the manufacturer. The foreigner is not buying farm products as he once did. The consequent lower export prices for our products have been of course reflected in lower domestic prices. The farmer cannot sell the surplus, though he expects to do so later. Meanwhile his living expenses go on just the same. He has borrowed all he can from the banks and the banks have lent all they can. The farmer is practically penniless.

Agricultural products are rotting and spoiling, not only because of low prices, but also because the cost of transportation from the place of production to the market is so great that to send the product away would mean an actual loss of money. The result is that many empty freight cars stand idle on the sidetracks.

As the farmer's is the primary industry, he should have aid first; this aid will indirectly help the transporter and the manufacturer.

With regard to plans for aid, the Nor-

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ris Bill, creating a Federal Farmers' Export Corporation, to be owned by the Government for the purpose of buying farm products in the United States and selling them abroad, was finally disapproved in the United States Senate. The first objection to it was that it created another Government commission in addition to the many now existing. The second objection was that the bill would put the Government into the business of buying and selling. The Government might buy easily enough. It is quite another thing to sell.

Despite these objections, the Norris Bill would probably have passed had not a sounder substitute been proposed. The substitute directs the War Finance Corporation whenever, in its opinion, conditions arising from the war have brought about an abnormal surplus accumulation of our staple agricultural products and when ordinary banking facilities have proved inadequate, to make advances to farmers' associations or to agricultural dealers or to foreign corporations on condition that the money be spent in the United States, and may also make advances to any bank which has been doing business with those engaged in marketing American agricultural products.

THE FARMER NOW BUYS GRADUALLY

THERE was some questioning as to whether the Norris Bill would not afford standing ground for some speculators who wanted to hold stocks of crops solely in order to stiffen prices. Surely, if prices of our products are artificially raised beyond world prices our foreign customers will not buy of us. The substitute which has just passed the Senate, however, instead of instigating speculation, merely recognizes the fact that Europe now prefers to take our commodities gradually instead of as formerly, when it bought nearly a whole year's supply in the six months following the maturity of our crops. Not recognizing this situation last autumn, we undertook to force upon our European customers a year's supply in a few months. This not only broke down the price of our own commodities, it also broke down the foreign exchanges. The result was interference not only with agricultural exports, but with all our other business. We were specially moved to this attempt because over two years ago we went through a situation of dangerous inflation and overproduction. Prices were rising and producers overstocked themselves. We have since been digesting these overstocks on a declining market and have suffered fearfully in consequence.

Unless mistakes be made in "exceptional cases," none of the proposed loans of the War Finance Corporation, we think, should go beyond the realm of assistance in orderly marketing of crops. Certainly, adequate financing will enable growers to market more promptly because buyers must have confidence in the general level of prices or they will not buy to supply their normal needs. The War Finance Corporation can and, we believe, will accelerate this movement materially. The original functions of the Corporation, being restricted to financing export trade, are enlarged to aid agricultural interests in general as prefatory to such trade.

FOR THE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

An Outline Study of Current History, prepared by J. Madison Gathany, A.M., and consisting of questions based upon the subjects discussed each week in The Outlook, will be printed weekly on a separate sheet and will, on request, be mailed to subscribers who are teachers or in charge of study groups.

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY

In its operations the Corporation has not lost a dollar. It exercises a generally fortifying influence, helpful from the psychological point of view, for it encourages bankers and exporters to act more energetically in meeting disturbed conditions. Indeed, the Corporation has made agreements for loans which have not been followed by the actual advance of funds, because the prospective borrowers, strengthened by the assurance of aid through the Corporation, were then able after all to obtain the necessary funds through ordinary banking channels.

A new condition has arisen in foreign trade. It has really less to do with credits to foreigners, we believe, and more with credits to Americans. In any case, we are sure, the question to-day is one of markets rather than of credits.

AT LAST THE DISABLED MEN HAVE A CHANCE

PRESIDENT HARDING has signed the Soldier Relief Bill. Its enactment into law forms one of the most creditable accomplishments of the present Administration.

Hitherto the ex-service man has been having a hard time, not because the country did not want to do the right thing by him, but because it did not know how. For his benefit there existed certain overlapping bureaus whose capacity for successful achievement was not as great as it should have been. The Sweet Bill consolidates and coordinates three of these agencies—the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the Rehabilitation Division of the Vocational Education Board, and so much of the Public Health Service as has to do with disabled ex-service men.

The size of the undertaking will be appreciated when it is realized that the Director of the newly created Veterans' Bureau will be the head of an insurance business handling hundreds of thousands of policies. In addition, he will have under his supervision the vocational rehabilitation work—the work which seeks to restore disabled veterans to their former earning capacity, and even to create in them a new earning capacity. The Director will also be responsible for the care of the many thousand veterans scattered through private and Governmental hospitals throughout the country. It will be the task of the Director to secure accommodation for all ex-soldiers and sailors and marines in State, municipal, or private hospitals and to supervise the appropriations for the construction of hospitals by the Federal Government.

But the most striking and talked-of feature of the new act is its institution of regional administration. Hitherto the disabled soldier who wanted to apply for medical treatment was often at arm's length from any Government resource. But now that 140 regional sub-offices are being erected throughout the country he may go to the nearest one, be examined by the medical authority there, and, if found a fit subject for hospital treatment, will obtain it at once. Should he need compensation or vocational treatment, he may put in his claim at the same sub-office.

After signing the bill, President Harding appointed Colonel Charles R. Forbes, who has been chief of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, head of the new Veterans' Bureau. As a youth Colonel Forbes shipped before the mast and went to Australia on a square-rigger. During the war he saw active service overseas and was commanding officer of a regiment of infantry. He has lived for many years on the Pacific coast.

TAX ADJUSTMENT

ON August 13 President Harding and the majority members of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives agreed upon a measure of tax reform.

For the coming fiscal year we must raise, we have been informed, some four billion dollars—that is, if previous estimates of expenditure are followed. But why should they be followed, if we can make them less? General Dawes, the Director of the Budget, found during his first fortnight's work that he could save over a hundred million dollars in those estimates; and now Mr. Madden, the

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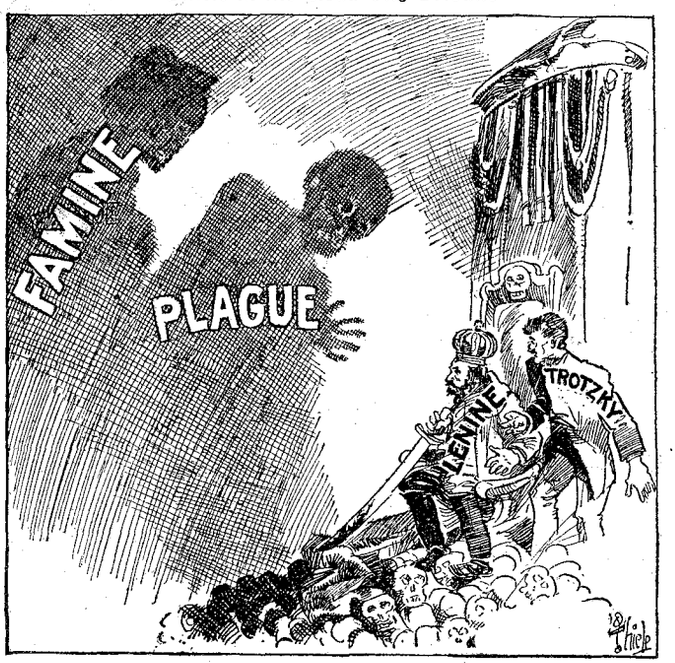
THE LOSS OF WHAT IS PAST

(Coriolanus III, 2)

Westerman in the Ohio State Journal

SCIENCE TRIUMPHS OVER DEATH

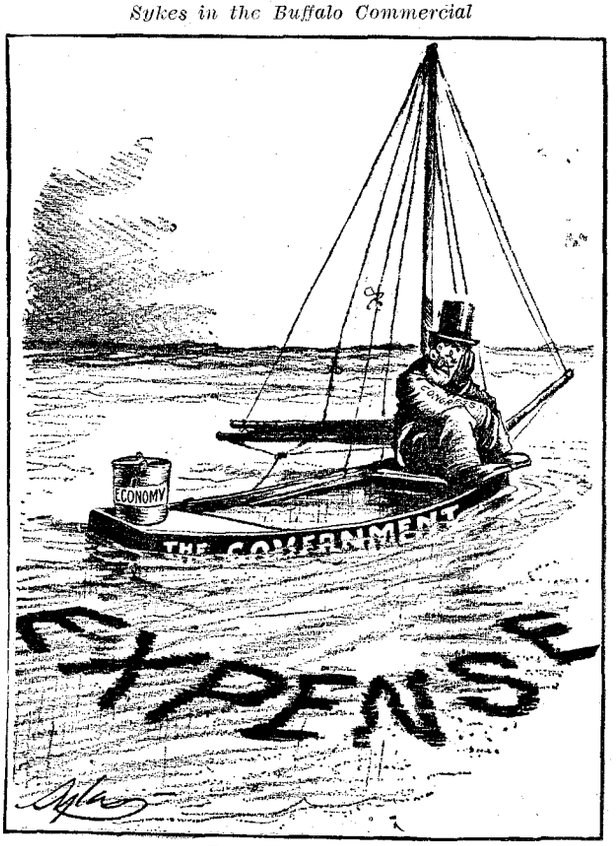
Thiele in the Sioux City Tribune



SHADOWS ON THE WALL

From Mrs. A. T. Bennett, Sioux City, Iowa.

Sykes in the Buffalo Commercial



BETTER GET BUSY

From Julius J. H. Hayn, Buffalo, N. Y.

Sykes in the Buffalo Commercial

MUFFED

From Julius J. H. Hayn, Buffalo, N. Y.

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(C) Underwood

SECRETARY MELLON SUBMITTING HIS NEW TAX PROPOSAL TO THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE

Left to right (seated): Representative James A. Frear, Charles B. Timberlake, Henry W. Watson, W. P. Martin, John F. Carew, Secretary A. W. Mellon, J. W. Fordney, Chairman; W. A. Oldfield, John N. Garner, C. R. Crisp, T. A. Chandler, George M. Bowers, L. H. Hadley, John Q. Tilson. Standing, left to right: Clayton F. Moore, clerk; Ernest W. Camp, clerk; Mr. Beaman, legislative drafting service; Representatives Luther W. Mott, Isaac Bacharach; Mr. McCoy, Treasury Dept.; Representative A. T. Treadway, Dr. T. S. Adams, Representatives W. R. Green, W. C. Hawley, A. B. Houghton, George M. Young, Ira C. Copley

Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, working in unison with General Dawes, makes a final estimate of over half a billion dollars to be saved in this way.

On the other hand, the people who are "tinkering" with taxation think that they see ways to readjust present burdens so as to save another half billion dollars.

The adjustment agreed upon by Mr. Harding and the House members provides for:

(1) A repeal of the excess profits tax.
(2) A repeal of the higher surtaxes.
(3) A repeal of the transportation tax.
(4) A repeal of certain excise and so-called luxury taxes.
(5) An increase from $2,000 to $2,500 in the income tax exemption to married men who have an annual net income of $5,000 or less.
(6) An increase from $200 to $400 in the income tax exemption to heads of families for each dependent.
(7) An increase in the corporation income tax.

The above programme seems more equitable than the programme it replaces. It may, however, be modified, because other forms of taxation, in addition to present internal revenue customs and other levies, may be necessary if we are to meet our expenditures. Among the suggestions are an increase of taxes on tobacco and on postage, a bank-check tax, a Federal motor license tax; above all, a sales tax, whether a retail tax, or a retail and wholesale tax, or a tax covering all business transactions.

An authoritative article by Hugh Satterlee on sales taxes appears elsewhere in this issue.

In any case, the business world will doubtless be relieved by the removal of an excess profits tax, and also by the reduction of the higher surtaxes. The result should be more business and larger revenues for individuals and for the Government.

"The whole tax reform programme," as the President justly says, "contemplates freeing business from what have been paralyzing and exasperating restrictions, encouraging to the utmost resumption of enterprise and business, removing every possible incentive to evasion and fraud, and distributing the tax burden with the greatest possible equity among all classes of people, keeping in mind the purpose of imposing the larger share on those best able to pay."

DYES AND POTASH

THE Fordney Tariff Bill is in some respects a super-tariff. Two of its provisions, however, call for special treatment—and drastic treatment may be necessary.

The Outlook has already referred to the dye situation. The potash situation is similar.

Potash has come to be a valuable constituent part of fertilizer. It is used in this country by the cotton-growers of the South, by some of the fruit-growers of California and Florida, and, finally, by the growers of vegetables—it makes fruit and vegetables hard and firm enough to be transported without injury.

Before the war we got our potash from Germany. As in the dye industry, so in potash mining, Germany enjoyed a virtual monopoly. Nineteen-twentieths of the German supply comes from the mines near the town of Stassfurt, in central Germany, the remaining one-twentieth coming from Alsace. The Stassfurt deposits, it is estimated, can provide for a consumption of five million tons a year for six hundred thousand years!

Crude potash, as it comes from the mines, contains twelve to sixty per cent of pure potash.

As with dyes, so with potash, the war shut off our foreign supply. In both we were forced to do what we could to develop home supply. It was discovered that part of the brine-salts of California, Utah, and Nebraska was pure potash, and our brine-salt manufacture of potash, begun shortly after the war commenced, has increased from the production of a thousand tons in 1915 to over 48,000 tons last year. Glauconite, or the "green sands" of New Jersey, contains a supply of potash raw material. Finally, the kelp of the Pacific coast has an exceptional power to absorb potash from sea water.

To satisfy our annual consumption

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of some 250,000 tons of potash, now that we are no longer at war, we have again to turn to Germany. Imports of German potash jumped from 7,800 tons in 1916 to 223,000 tons last year. In only one year before the war began was the total German production higher than a million tons; during the war it twice exceeded that figure. There is much potash thus awaiting shipment, as shown by the accompanying illustration.

To protect our own product, the impending tariff bill would impose a duty. Opponents claim that it would greatly increase the price of potash fertilizer. Proponents reply that neither in dyes nor in potash should we be dependent upon a ruthless Power like Germany, that protection of two growing American industries demands the provisions proposed, and that we can save ourselves very much greater payments to Germany later than would be met by any slight temporary increase in the prices either of dyes or of potash.

Underwood

THE SHIPMENT OF POTASH SALT FROM GERMANY TO AMERICA

These barges are being loaded with potash salt preparatory to shipment to United States ports from Hanover, Germany

UPPER SILESIA: THE LEAGUE COUNCIL TO ARBITRATE

SATIRICAL comments have been made upon the note of the Supreme Council to pass over to the Council of the League of Nations the decision of the vexed questions relating to the boundary to be fixed between Poland and Germany in Upper Silesia. It is said that this is what is commonly called "passing the buck;" that France and England find themselves blocked from agreement, so that the reference to the League is merely a convenient way of postponing the question for the present and thus dodging responsibility for a time; and, finally, that the League's Council is practically the Supreme Council with another name.

A better view, it seems to us, is that the question in its present form is one precisely suited for arbitration. In some respects the problem is exactly of the kind that has been dealt with successfully in the past by international arbitration. The meaning of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles relating to Upper Silesia is to be expounded, the different claims as to the division of territory are to be argued, and an attempt is to be made to reach substantial justice which shall promise peace for the future.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Harvey, was asked at the Supreme Council to state the position of his country. Naturally, he pointed out that, as has been the view of President Harding all along, the matter was one of distinctly European concern, and also that, as the United States is not associated in the League of Nations, it would be only proper for him to refrain from participation in the discussion.

FAMINE, CHILD OF ECONOMIC FOLLY

As the released American prisoners come out from Russia and describe what they saw and heard, the conclusions already reached by Mr. Hoover and most students of Russian conditions are confirmed. Mr. Hoover, in his calm and unemotional way, pointed out that the false economic ideas and bad administration of the Soviets were responsible in large measure for the present lack of work. In this all recent reports directly from Russia agree.

Thus an American newspaper writer, Mrs. Marguerite Harrison, recently released from prison, attributes the trouble primarily to economic and political disintegration under Soviet rule and only secondarily to drought and civil warfare. She particularly points out the evil wrought by the scattering of farmhands and the seizing of grain for the Red armies. Mrs. Harrison is not hopeful that the immediate result will be the downfall of the Soviets. They seem to her to be too well established to be easily put out of power. She agrees with other correspondents that lack of transportation and local inefficiency make the problem peculiarly difficult. This is an added reason for giving the relief organizations from America and other countries large powers as to the placing of the relief.

Another American, not a prisoner, Mr. S. J. Singer, visited southern Russia on a business trip, and found that there were no railways working, that the highways were the worst he had ever seen, and that the people could get from one town to another only by walking. They could not even ride horses or donkeys, because they have been eaten long ago, as well as dogs, cats, and even rats. In what were once the richest granaries in Europe this year the farmers planted very small crops, and even those crops were destroyed by the drought. His description of the suffering that exists is heartrending, and this extends even to the refugees in Constantinople, while in Batum recently a Russian officer shot all his family and then himself because he had not a coin with which to buy bread.

Still another American, Dr. W. B. Estes, says that he and his friends were over and over again sentenced to death, and thus terrorized. The starvation conditions in the Volga provinces are apparently as bad as they have ever been in China and starvation and typhus are sweeping westward.

Even Lenine has come to acknowledge openly that the false theories he has so long advocated are not workable. His official decree of August 9 has lately been published in full; it admits "an appreciable change for worse in the whole series of economic factors even as compared with the latter part of 1920." Among the reasons for this state of affairs he gives the "vast number of enterprises which the state attempted to erect without having adequate supplies of food and material." Co-operation is now urged and free commercial intercourse between town and country are at last to be permitted.

It is no wonder that Mr. Lloyd George, in union with M. Briand, the French Premier, urges that all the Allies join in

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furnishing relief to Russia. This is imperative, he declares, "not only for the sake of Russia, but for the sake of the world, because typhus, cholera, and other plagues incident to famine would cause more losses than the last war."

TELEKY AND TITTONI

PERHAPS the most picturesque persons at the Williams College Institute of Politics now in session at Williamstown, Massachusetts, are Count Teleky, late Hungarian Premier, and Signor Tittoni, President of the Italian Senate.

Paul Teleky is a youngish-looking man to have been at the head of a Government. Nor is he distinctly Hungarian in appearance. He is, however, a man of ability, not only in politics, but also in scientific life.

As might be fancied, he is a protagonist for his own land, asserting that the development of the entire civilization of western Europe has been decisively influenced by Hungarian history. The Carpathian Mountains, he asserts, form such a formidable barrier that only a tremendous difference between the forces of attacking and defending Powers ever makes it possible for an attacking Power to cross those mountains. As Hungary has developed a strong and well-defined individuality and has kept her independence fairly free from foreign influence, she has been an outpost of Western civilization as against the onrush of the Turk. The great internal difficulty at the present time is to decide the fate of those parts of Hungary which are inhabited by Germans, Rumanians, or Serbs.

Tommaso Tittoni is one of the best-known men in Italian political life. Like Sonnino, he had some of his education in England. At the Peace Conference he succeeded Orlando and Sonnino, and doubtless feels that the Treaty of Rapallo, recently ratified and defining the future status of Fiume, may be regarded as in some degree his work. A convinced Nationalist, it is not surprising to find in him a defender of the new Italian frontier, which coincides with the highest summits of the Alps, and includes, as Lord Bryce has reproachfully pointed out, over two hundred thousand Tyrolese of the Andreas Hofer type.

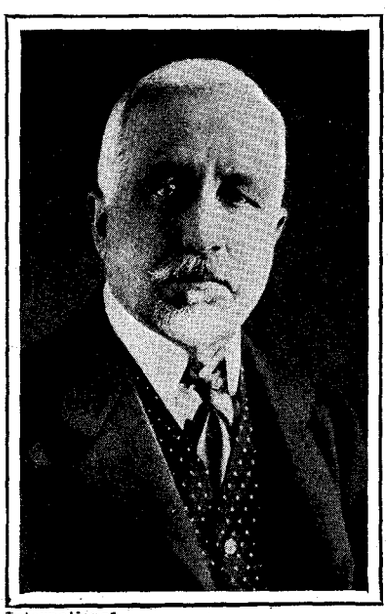
At Williamstown Signor Tittoni's particular effort has been in pointing out the danger of municipal and state ownership of public utilities. He bases his statements on his observations of more than six thousand state and city owned industrial enterprises in Italy. The cost of operating government industries is, he affirms, always higher than that of operating private concerns. Public undertakings are not run with such rigorous control of expense. There is a familiar ring to his statement that public money is often considered more or less everybody's money, to be spent without the restrictions which attach to private capital.

(C) Keystone
COUNT TELEKY

Paul Thompson
MARGUERITE HARRISON, AN AMERICAN WOMAN RELEASED FROM A RUSSIAN PRISON

THOROUGHNESS AND INTEREST

ABOUT thirty years ago there was an undergraduate at Harvard who lived in the Eighteenth Century. It is true that he was not born until the Eighteenth Century had been left some seventy years behind. He was nevertheless a true contemporary of Addison and Pope, of Bach and Haydn. John Alden (he was a descendant of the famous Pilgrim) immersed himself in the literature, the music, the artistic ideals, the mental traits, of the period that had preceded him by a hundred years. It was not affectation on his part that led him to direct his mental life to an environment foreign to his own times and country. It was his apparently inborn affinity for the classics. To him the preciousness of the æsthetes in literature and music who had a vogue during the latter days of Queen Victoria, the politics and business of the times of Harrison and Cleveland, were as nothing. He sought his life in a classical period, and he found it in the Eighteenth Century. To him Latin and Greek were as living tongues. He could not only read them with ease, but he spoke them, thought them, dreamed them. To him the Greek of Theocritus was indeed as living as the Greek in which he conversed with the boy who blacked his boots or from whom he bought his fruit. His knowledge of what pertained to the classics and to classical ideals, whether they found expression in the ancient tongues of Greece and Rome, or in the formal verse and prose of Eighteenth Century England, or the no less formal and precise music of the greatest of the early masters, was thorough. After graduating from college he became a teacher of the classics in a



International
TOMMASO TITTONI

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high school at Portland, Maine. What was living to him he made alive to his pupils. His standards were rigid because his knowledge was profound; but he invested his teaching with life, he clothed the past with a sense of the present; he evoked the dead and in the presence of his classes made them live. As a consequence not only did two of his pupils become Rhodes scholars, carrying on the traditions of learning, but also, it is said, during his period of instructorship the largest elective class in the school was the class in Greek.

A single instance of sound and vital teaching such as this is sufficient to prove that the contradiction between making study interesting and making study thorough is a false contradiction.

It is sometimes said that the old standards of education were sound because they were thorough and that modern education is degenerate because for the sake of securing the interest of the pupil it has sacrificed thoroughness and accuracy. On the other hand, it is sometimes said that the old methods of teaching were mechanical and tyrannical, and that modern education has made a great advance by enabling the pupil to understand what he is studying and by fascinating him with its appeal to his imagination. In this issue of The Outlook Mr. Ayers praises the teaching of the older day because of its discipline and thoroughness, while Mr. Ashley presents for admiration an example of modern teaching because of its interest and humanness. There is no essential contradiction. If teaching were competent always, it would combine thoroughness with interest.

The failure of the formal and mechanical teaching of the older days and of the superficial teaching nowadays is the failure of the incompetent. In the years of which Mr. Ayers writes the incompetent teacher took refuge in the exercise of his authority by compelling his pupils to do unpleasant things, and he called his failure discipline. Nowadays the incompetent teacher takes refuge in the use of devices for entertaining his pupils, and calls his failure development. The exaction of obedience, the use of drill, the requirement of thoroughness, and the holding of a definite aim in education are all compatible with the enlistment of the pupil's interest, the enlightenment of his understanding, and the securing from the pupil of what Mr. Brown in his article calls loyalty.

If the modern athletic coach had rendered no other service, his place in modern education would be justified by his demonstration of the fact that it is possible to put young people through the hardest kind of drill, require of them sustained mental and physical effort, subject them to inexorable tests, and at the same time enable them to understand what they are doing, arouse their interest, and keep their enthusiastic loyalty.

PEOPLE ARE THE SAME EVERYWHERE

"WHENEVER I go traveling on a train," said the Young-Old Philosopher, "I have a passion for waving to people as we pull out of some station or pass some meadow or road; and only three or four times in my whole life have I failed to receive an answering signal. The faces of those who did not respond are indelibly engraved on my mind and in my memory. Always they have been opaque countenances—one man was an idiot, I am sure, though he may have thought I was. The others were surly, uncouth individuals with the kind of sour visage I do not care to think of—extreme types who will never know the joys of friendship or even of wholesome human companionship.

"This habit of mine has brought home to me one great truth, one brilliant and delightful fact of life; and that is that most people are nice. When they are not, something is innately wrong with them—or you. For if you meet people half-way in this troubled world of ours you may be sure they will come back at you with equal generosity, and often put in a little something for well-meaning good measure.

"Lately I have been facing audiences from coast to coast in this vast country of ours, and it has been an exhilarating, an illuminating experience. At first I dreaded the ordeal—as who does not? A certain stage fright never seems to wear off. Actors will tell you that this is the best sign. 'Beware of becoming too self-composed,' they always say. 'When that day comes, artistic death takes place.'

"A woman friend of mine who now speaks a great deal in public gave me some words of advice which I have never forgotten. I heard her on a transport during the war, and afterwards I asked her how it was she had come to address a crowd so easily—apparently without the slightest effort. She offered me this unforgetable recipe: 'I invariably think of an audience as an expanded dinner-party. I was never nervous at a table when it came my turn to tell an anecdote. Why, then, should I be self-conscious in a hall? I did not stumble and fumble for words among the smaller group; why need I become confused among the friends who hear me in an auditorium?'

"Yes, and they *are* one's friends, these people who come out of an afternoon or an evening to hear what any speaker or reader has to offer. I figuratively wave to them; and always there is the answering signal—always. We are *en rapport* at once.

"I recall an English novelist who came here to lecture last year. He had enormous success, though he confessed to me that his legs trembled whenever he came out and he thought his voice was an echo from another sphere; and even before he landed on our shores he had gone through all the horrors of those nightmares which besiege every person in public life when he dreams that his audience 'walks out on him' and that he has lost his notes in the midst of his dissertation. A half-dozen writers who had preceded him had miserably failed, and that knowledge did not hearten him. But afterwards he knew exactly why they had been forced to creep back home. They brought no spirit of comradeship to their audiences. They were in no sense good fellows; and, lacking the ability to reach out and grasp the hands of those who had come with enthusiasm to be reached out to, they went away thinking Americans were cold as ice. It was they themselves who were icicles. They should have remembered that most people go to any kind of entertainment in a receptive mood. They are more than eager to be pleased—that is what they have spent their good money for; and it is the speaker's fault if he does not get over that tiny barrier which separates any performer from those who listen to him. If *he* is nice and does his valiant best, the audience will be sure to know it, and tell him so through that happiest of sounds—the clapping of hands."

THE IRISH TANGLE

WITH the reply of Mr. De Valera to Mr. Lloyd George's suggestion of terms of settlement the Irish peace negotiations came to a standstill, at least for the moment. It is quite possible that they may be renewed; English and Irish press views incline to an optimistic view.

One gain has been made. The air has been cleared. The points upon which insistence is strongest have been made obvious to the peoples involved. Conversely, the points on which yielding is possible may be inferred.

A new turn is given to the Sinn Fein demand for Irish independence and unity by De Valera's intimation that a single Dominion with a recognized right to secede (such as he asserts other Dominions have) might be acceptable. If this intimation were agreed to, the twenty-six counties of southern Ireland would not be slow in an all-Ireland Parliament to exercise the right of secession. Lloyd George promptly made public his ultimatum against such a conces-

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sion. On the other hand, the terms of his original proposal are generally recognized as liberal in financial and economic concessions, as constituting real self-government so far as is consistent with British suzerainty, and as making impossible anything like oppression of Ireland by England.

One illuminating point of disagreement between the pseudo-President of Ireland and the Prime Minister of England is as to arbitration. Lloyd George offered arbitration as to Ireland's share of the British debt "by an arbitrator chosen within the Dominion;" De Valera, by a board of three, the third in the case of disagreement "to be nominated, say, by the President of the United States." And later Lloyd George positively declined to "refer British and Irish matters to the arbitration of a foreign Power."

Perhaps the most vital and helpful agreement is as to Ulster. Lloyd George says to De Valera, "We are profoundly glad to have your agreement that northern Ireland cannot be coerced." What is the logical conclusion? Ulster is perfectly satisfied to be a crown colony or a Home Rule Dominion under British sovereignty. The one thing she says she will not stand unless coerced is to be part of a United Ireland under a Government ruled by a Sinn Fein majority. Here seems to be the crux of the situation. Those who hope for a final agreement are urging that the solution is to let Ulster remain separate now with the hope that she may, perhaps, ultimately change her mind. General Smuts, in a letter to De Valera, puts the case in a nutshell:

> My conviction is that for the present no solution based on Ulster coming into the Irish State will succeed. Ulster will not agree, she cannot be forced, and any solution on those lines is at present foredoomed to failure.
>
> I believe that it is in the interest of Ulster to come in and that the force of a community of interests will over a period of years prove so great and so compelling that Ulster will herself decide to join the Irish State.

The publication of this letter from General Smuts should be a strong influence for moderation and peace. To read the letter is to understand how General Smuts has such personal power with men and in affairs. It is friendly, kindly, unprejudiced, and persuasive. In one passage General Smuts says:

> The British Prime Minister offers a complete dominion status to the twenty-six counties, subject to certain strategic safeguards, which you are asked to agree to voluntarily as a free dominion and which we South Africans agreed to as free nations in the Union of South Africa. To my mind, such offer by the British Prime Minister, who, unlike his predecessors, is in a position to deliver the goods, is an event of unique importance. You are no longer offered the Home Rule scheme of Gladstone or of the Asquith type, with its limited powers and reservations of a fundamental character. The full dominion status, with all that it is and implies, is yours if you will but take it.
>
> It is far more than was offered to the Transvaal and Free State, who fought for freedom one of the greatest wars in the history of Great Britain, and one which reduced their own countries to ashes and their little people to ruins. They accepted the far less generous offer that was made to them. From that foothold they then proceeded to improve their position, until to-day South Africa is happy, contented, united, and a completely free country.

If the attempt to establish self-government in Ireland fails, with which party will the advantage remain? In our judgment, with England. She has shown her whole hand, has made large concessions, has submitted to misconception (and in the minds of most Unionists to humiliation) in dealing with a secret association as if it were a recognized belligerent. In the hope of making Ireland safe for the future she has during the truce ceased to press criminal charges, although scores of her sworn officers were assassinated before any reprisals took place. She has temporarily ignored the fact that the Sinn Fein has never denied responsibility for murders such as that of the farm woman accused of giving state's evidence who was shot to death after a secret trial. In short, England has gone to the limit in trying to get peace and home rule for Ireland. If De Valera, as some say, has been "riding for a fall"—that is to say, if he has been fixed in determination all along not to yield the demand for complete independence—then he has been cunning rather than wise. The world knows now that Ireland can be as free as South Africa, if she chooses.

FROM FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS OF THE OUTLOOK

ENGLAND AT PLAY

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM LONDON

BY CHARLES HENRY MELTZER

RUDYARD KIPLING may have gone a bit too far when, years ago, he scoffed at the poor "flanneled fools" of England. For sport, the love of sport, and the pursuit of sport are in themselves quite sane and really useful things. They make for health and strength of mind and body—unless they are indulged in overmuch.

But very soon there may come a new Kipling to warn the English, as he did, against the danger of preferring play to work. While millions over here are unemployed, more millions have for weeks and weeks and months been squandering their time, their thought and hearts, not on the labor upsets of the present time, but on the races, matches, contests of all kinds of sport.

The craze for play had reached a point, indeed, at which the press was giving up more space to tennis, cricket, golf, to rowing, racing, fighting, yachting, and reviews, than to the great and burning subject of the time in this Old World—the urgent need of getting back to business. However pleasant it may be to play all day, no nation can go on and hold its own in the great fight for life that does not set work far above all other interests. And this truth far too many here in England seem in a fair way to forget or treat too lightly. The miners' strike, the engineering troubles, the Imperial Conference, the miseries of taxation, have had less notice in the papers for some weeks than the encounters on the golf and cricket fields, the polo matches, and two rival "pugs." It has distressed judicious people to see great and serious problems barely touched on in the leading English organs while columns and whole pages have been filled with disquisitions upon "knockouts." The rulers of the land of course are carrying on at Westminster as usual. But they are being left too much alone—and at a moment when they should be watched most closely.

It does one good—till one reflects—I must admit, to see so many cheery, wholesome men and women, boys and girls, at play in England. The will to play is well enough, no doubt. The will to work, however, is of more importance.

Already, not three years after the armistice, the Germans have gone back

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to their old jobs. They are all busy, slaving doggedly and patiently to win the leading place in their old industries. They are beginning to flood England with their wares—their cutlery, their dyes, their stuffs and "notions." The Londoners are shaved with German razors. They buy cheap German knives and German corkscrews. The same articles made here would, at the present price of labor in this country, cost three times as much as in the Vaterland. But till the collapse of the strikes, a week ago, the British laboring man was deaf and blind to all except his selfish aims. He would not see that unless Germans could be forced to raise their scale of wages within five years the British industries might rot and *"Deutschland über Alles"* might become a fact, at least in commerce.

I think the unions are awakening, rather late. We hear at last of a revival of the trades, of a new effort to save British industry. To-morrow all, or nearly all, the mines in England, Wales, and Scotland will be busy. The engineers have had the great good sense to accept reductions in their overboosted wages. The railway companies will soon be running regular and excursion trains as usual. Too many of those trains, though, may be filled with sporting "fans" bound for the races and the golf links and the cricket fields.

Few Englishmen to-day are reading books. The prices of most books are now prohibitive. The cost of paper, labor, and distributing has forced the publishers to triple their old charges. A novel which before the war might have been offered at the bookstalls for, say, half a crown, is now marked eight and six—or, say, two dollars. Unhappily, too, there is no equivalent here for our fine public libraries; nothing, at all events, so thorough and so liberal. There are, perhaps, small local libraries. And the great reading-room in the British Museum is accessible, though hedged round with formalities. But to get books to read is not the easy matter that it has for generations been with us. It takes much trouble and some time to find a library worth visiting in England.

So, being baffled of their chances of enjoying, as we can, the latest works on science, art, and even works of fiction, the people in England turn instinctively for an alternative relaxation to cricket, boating, racing, and the like. They need some brightness in their now too worried lives. They must have something to allow them to forget their heavy tolls and income tax. Sport gives them, for a song, what they most crave. Nor can one wonder. After all, they are but human.

England has been slipping back, in a disquieting way, for some months in the fierce race for trade and shipping and world influence. But has she realized the fact, and has she worried? No. Not till now. She has been quite serene, trusting to luck and to the old belief that she will muddle through her troubles some day, somehow. The carnival of sport has not been checked. It has been fostered, not discouraged, by the newspapers. Music may be paralyzed. It seems almost dead. Drama may languish. Art may be at a standstill. But cricket, polo, racing, boating, thrive. *"Vogue la galère!"* And after us—the deluge.

I do not wish to seem a croaker of ill tidings. I am a Londoner by birth, and not an alien in this English world. But I can see what is unguessed at by most Englishmen—the growing menace of new German competition. It might be well if in America men stirred themselves. For the United States may have to fight the danger of industrial Germany. High tariffs are at best a mere expedient. Americans may erelong ask themselves why they must pay three times as much for what they need as they might have to pay if duties were abolished. They might learn much, too, if they knew that here in London such things as shoes, sold at enormous profits in the United States, can be bought for little more than half the sums charged by the storekeepers on Broadway.

The English have more common sense than we have in America when they are dealing with the profiteering problem. This year, for instance, straw hats have been boycotted. Not from a sudden scorn of good straw hats, but just because a brash attempt to charge high prices for them was made by the hatters. Two years ago, again, the cost of men's and women's suits rose so outrageously that a reaction came. An anti-profiteering scheme was started. And now a sack suit can be bought in countless stores for four or five pounds—say, eighteen to twenty dollars. The Middle Classes Union may have failed. It has done little that it once hoped to accomplish. Yet an unorganized rebellion against organized and ruthless profiteers has somehow brought about a heavy slump in prices.

The stores this month have all marked down their goods. Big bargain sales are drawing eager crowds. The public simply would not stand the robberies of the early post-war period. It fought the rogues; it wore old clothes and merely waited. There is more thrift here than there was two years ago. But it spells ruin for the painters, singers, actors. And too much time is being wasted here on—play.

ENGLAND AT WORK

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM LONDON

BY FRANCIS ROGERS

IN leaving England after a visit of just a month my heart is filled with admiration for the way in which the English are grappling with the grave difficulties that now confront them. When I landed in England this time, after an absence of eight years, I was somewhat uneasy as to what condition of affairs I should find. Vague rumors and gossip recounted to me by credulous compatriots had suggested various forms of discomfort, both great and small, for the American visitor. Because of the coal strike trains would be few and unreliable, cold food would be one's usual fare. There would be a shortage of many of the necessaries of life, and, most disagreeable of all, Americans, owing to their rejection of the League of Nations, would find themselves *personae non gratae* on English soil. A dozen hours ashore sufficed to dispel these gloomy forebodings. A comfortable express train bore us swiftly to London and provided us with an appetizing and bountiful hot luncheon; in all respects the service was as good as, if not better than, our American service, and at a substantially less cost. The taxi that carried us to our hotel was more comfortable and cheaper than our New York taxis. The rooms, the meals, and the service in the hotel were as satisfactory as one would find in any but the most expensive American hotels and were much less expensive.

The impressions of those first hours have all been confirmed by the varied experiences, both in and out of London, of the passing weeks. England is as comfortable for the traveling American as ever it was and a cheaper place for him to live in than his own country. Even on the basis of the pre-war value of the shilling (24 cents) English prices are appreciably lower than ours; the present value of the shilling (18 cents) enhances tremendously the purchasing power of the dollar. For less than four dollars a day one can obtain excellent board and lodging in the best provincial hotels. Think of that, Americans! Linen, woolen, and silk goods, too, are much cheaper than with us. And so it goes all along the line—rents, domestic service, supplies, etc. Indeed, if the American visitor asks no questions and avoids the newspapers, he may even leave England in the belief that all is well with it.

Superficially, there is little to remind the traveler that England has just passed through the costliest and most devastating war in all her long history. Mutilated men are rarely seen; the losses and sorrows of the last few years

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are seldom referred to; little or no outward sign of mourning is visible. But let the traveler ask a few questions of any native or scan only the headlines of the papers, and he will begin to realize the appalling cost of England's victory—a cost paid by all, young and old, men and women. Ex-service men do not wear service buttons, as ours do, and the multi-colored service ribbons are usually concealed under the coat, but one soon gets the impression that every able-bodied man in England was in the fight. The tailor who cuts your suit left a leg in France; the clerk in the picture shop was gassed at Messines; the brother of the chambermaid was killed at Gallipoli. It is the same with the educated men, who have discarded their military titles and wear no ribbons; they, too, seem all to have been in it. The university men volunteered *en masse;* during a large part of the war there was not a single student enrolled at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Most eloquent of all, perhaps, are the honor rolls posted in every town and in every institution. In the colleges their length is heartbreaking. Eight choristers from the choir of little old St. Bartholomew the Great in London laid down their lives for their country; twenty from the choir of Ely Cathedral. Three employees of the little post office at Torquay died in service. Everywhere the lists meet the eye; every one you meet lost near and dear ones. Behind these willing, courageous combatants stood shoulder to shoulder and uncomplaining their people who could not fight, but who loyally did their bit at home and now are left to mourn so many of their brave boys. I have stood beside the Cenotaph in Whitehall and watched silent, black-clad parents lay at its base a bunch of simple flowers in memory of their lad who lies unmarked somewhere in No Man's Land. To one faded handful, typical of many, was attached a card on which was scrawled, "In memory of our Arthur, who died in France. Dad, Mum and Sis." In all the world there is no more eloquent or sadder monument than the Cenotaph, which to countless parents is the memorial stone of their boy who went forth to battle and was heard of no more.

The war had to be won and it was won. The tumult and the shouting have died and England is now face to face with its huge war bill. The cost in human lives has, for the most part, already been paid; but the cost in material things it will take generations to defray. Not only has the price of everything been doubled, even trebled, but taxes have reached an unprecedented height. One-third of a yearly income of $1,000 goes to the Government, and the proportion increases with the size of the income till it reaches three-quarters. Everybody, except the war profiteers, is retrenching in his expenditure. The man with a small income is depriving himself and his family of all but the absolute necessaries; the landed proprietor is selling his estates and collections to the highest bidder. Charitable institutions are closing because the newly poor can no longer support them and the newly rich have not yet learned to give. Labor troubles complicate the situation greatly, and the recent coal strike was little short of being a national disaster. Then there is the eternal strain of the Irish question. On top of it all comes the fierce drought which for weeks and weeks has been burning up the fields of England, usually so green and fruitful. Such conditions bring unemployment in their wake, and many willing hands are idle.

These are all mighty problems to solve. Only a civilization built on the soundest principles of self-government could possibly sustain a strain of such magnitude. The solidity of every foundation, the strength of every buttress, is being tested as never before; but though the fabric may quiver and sway, it was constructed with a wisdom and a skill that will enable it to withstand the present tempest as it has withstood many another. There is little that is stimulating or glorious about the battles of peace, but England is now fighting hers with much of the same dogged determination that did so much to bring defeat to the Germans. During the war, even in its blackest moments, some Tommy would often cry out, "Are we downhearted?" "No!" was always the vociferous answer, followed by a cheery "Carry on! Carry on!" And England is carrying on, and will continue to carry on till she has won the fight.

We Americans should never forget that what is strongest and best in our civilization is of English origin—our systems of government, law, and education are all based on the experience of England through the long centuries. The collapse of England would probably mean our collapse. Self-interest alone would urge us to extend to her every material aid. How much more should we, her offspring, the heirs to all her intellectual and spiritual possessions, be forward not only in sharing with her our material wealth, but also in giving her our unstinted moral support and sympathy! Let us never forget what we owe to the great nation that from 1914 to 1917, without our co-operation, fought our battles by land and sea, and during the last eighteen months of the war fought side by side with us that our common civilization should not perish.

WHY FRANCE WILL BACK UP AMERICA AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM PARIS

BY STÉPHANE LAUZANNE

EDITOR "LE MATIN," PARIS

THE suggestion of the President of the United States to summon a conference at Washington for the purpose of studying the question of disarmament has been received with real favor by the whole of France. Seldom is an invitation so well received.

And there are numerous reasons for this.

First of all, the invitation comes from America. To the great majority of the French this means that there are no underhand doings, no intrigues, no desire to effect a political success at the detriment of such and such a nation. It will be a loyal debate promoted by the most disinterested people on the earth, who on this occasion are prompted by the most loyal ideals.

Secondly, the invitation is intended to lead to something practical. There is nothing the French hate more than to be working in the clouds, for experience has taught them that one always ends by falling down to earth and that one is hurt in the falling.

The study of disarmament by the so-called League of Nations is a study in the clouds, which will never come to a practical result, as it is but a discussion of dreamers and philosophers. But the study of disarmament by the three greatest naval Powers of the globe, and by one of the greatest military Powers of Europe, can eventually meet with something tangible. This is the only efficacious study.

Finally, for the first time since the Versailles Treaty of Peace, France has been invited to an international conference at which there will be no intention of requesting her to give up any one of the advantages she has obtained by the Treaty to the greater glory and greater profit of England. All the international conferences which have been held in Europe during the past two years at Paris, at London, at Hythe, at Boulogne, at Spa, at San Remo, always aimed at making England the great arbiter of Europe. France appeared before this

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arbitrator, who immutably took the features of Mr. David Lloyd George.

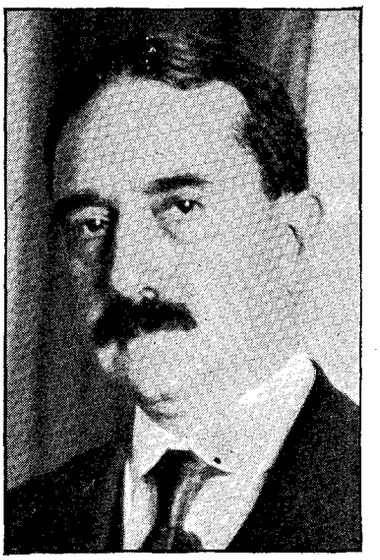
Sometimes France had kind things said to her; sometimes she heard disagreeable words. But she never left the tribunal without having been obliged to make some sacrifice, moral or material; be it a question of coal, of penalties, of money, of the reparations of her devastated regions, invariably she had to give up something.

This time things will be changed. At Washington there will be but one single arbitrator—the American people. And France willingly accepts its verdict.

On the other hand, those who this time will have to make sacrifices to peace, to harmony, and to the good understanding of all will be England and Japan in particular. This time the preachers of morals will also have to be the paymasters.

When the question of the Pacific is raised, we shall hear no more about French imperialism, French militarism, and French annexationism. We shall only have the great English disinterestedness and the great English moderation facing us.

And we shall be the better able to pay a hearty tribute to that disinterestedness and to that moderation, as it will no longer be at our expense.



STÉPHANE LAUZANNE SAYS:

"The study of disarmament by the League of Nations is a study in the clouds. But the study of disarmament by the three greatest naval Powers of the globe, and by one of the greatest military Powers of Europe, can eventually meet with something tangible"

Whatever the case may be, the line of conduct of France at the Conference of Washington is regulated in advance. She will back up America with all her heart and power.

It is very probable that Prime Minister Briand will go himself to Washington, accompanied by Marshal Foch and Admiral Lacaze as his technical counselors. M. Briand desires particularly to go himself to place his statesman's authority in person at the disposal of the President of the United States for the good work which he has undertaken, and to get into touch with the American people, whom he loves and admires above all.

If, however, by some impossibility, M. Briand were to be detained in Paris through governmental duties, it would be M. René Viviani whom France would delegate to Washington.

In any event, America will have at the Conference in the person of the French delegates men who are only anxious to help her practically in her beautiful and useful scheme.

PUZZLED JAPAN

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM TOKYO

BY HENRY W. KINNEY

Is Japan the victim of a gigantic international conspiracy of white nations? Is the invitation that she attend the Disarmament Conference to be called at Washington merely a diabolically clever scheme whereby she will be placed in a position where she must either make various concessions in respect to the present troublesome Asiatic and Pacific questions or must see herself forced into a position of absolute isolation as a nation? Ever since Japan received the inquiry from the United States as to whether she would attend the Conference these questions have been agitating the minds of all Japanese who think on international questions at all. If matters had gone no further than the delivery to the Foreign Office of the American inquiry, the results thereof would nevertheless have been tremendous when measured in the terms of its effect on Japanese thought.

For Japan has finally been brought to realize that she stands alone, in the position of a suspect; that the nations desire—nay, may insist on her placing all her cards upon the table; that she must either play the game in Asia and the Pacific along the lines of the new world morality now followed by other nations, or must find herself an outcast with the hands of all others against her. Japan feels that she is at the parting of the roads, that her destiny is about to be determined—unless she may find some way to prevent or confuse the discussion of the various burning questions at the coming Conference.

The note of surprise is predominant. Japan felt rather secure at the moment. Most of her public men did not believe that anything would ever come of the Disarmament Conference plans. At least they thought that nothing would happen for quite a while to come. Militarists felt sure that no conference, even if one should be called, could have any practical effect. They had seen too many conferences pass apparently all-important resolutions which in the end only resolved themselves into smoke. So they did not bother to oppose disarmament talk very strongly. The Minister of the Navy even said that reduction of the naval budget might be considered, though the Japanese press itself accuses him of being very "lukewarm." The new Minister of War, in office only a few weeks, says bluntly that he can see no reason for either naval or army reduction. However, on the whole, even the advocates of armaments felt reasonably secure, first, with the thought that America was only bluffing, and would never actually call a conference; second, in the assurance that, even if such were called, the issue might easily be so complicated that nothing very tangible would result.

Then came President Harding's inquiry, with the information that various Asiatic and Pacific questions should be discussed as a basis for disarmament negotiations, and, further, that France, Italy, and China—yes, China—had been invited to participate. No Big Bertha bombshell ever created greater consternation. What did all this mean? No longer might one rest secure in the prospect of a technical, academic conference; on the contrary, as the Japanese say, this event bids fair to be as tremendous in its effects as the Paris Conference, or even more so, and with the great difference that the questions to be taken up will practically all be those in which Japan has a vital interest. Japan feels that she will virtually be called upon to place on the table her plans for the future in respect to Siberia, China, and elsewhere.

While both politicians and press have been very guarded in their expressions, and while almost all the most prominent men have been careful to veil their utterances in anonymity, the undercurrent of resentment is too strong not to be very noticeable. First of all, Japan feels with disappointment and disgust that England, her ally, has tricked her. It is agreed that while the voice may be Harding's the hand is England's. It is believed to be plain that England, facing the *impasse* where she felt she must either terminate or emasculate the Anglo-Japanese Alliance or must lose the friendship of America and face the opposition of Canada, to a large extent Australia and other parts of the Empire, by an extremely shrewd move brought

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about the calling of a conference which, if the plans mature, will place Japan in the position where either she must outline and promise to maintain a liberal and satisfactory policy or she must place herself in a position of isolation as an out-and-out militarist nation, when she could not expect renewal of the Alliance.

Next Japan has looked upon the composition of the Conference. England has already shown where she stood by sidestepping renewal of the Alliance and by being instrumental—at least, so Japan thinks—in bringing about this extremely uncomfortable Conference. France and Italy both showed in the matter of the Yap question that they far preferred the friendship of the United States to that of Japan. China—well, Japan knows what she may expect from China, which has not forgotten the Twenty-one Demands, and which is an extremely interested party in the Shantung and other questions. "As a matter of fact, we have become isolated even before we enter the Conference," is a common cry. "If we take part, we will be one against all the rest. If we do not take part, we shall be condemned as confessed militarists. The position is impossible."

It seems hard to see a way out. Japan promptly indicated her willingness to take part in a Disarmament Conference, but, and this is the great question in Japan to-day, will she be able to prevent that body from taking up, or at least making decisions on, the various questions in which she is so vitally interested—Shantung, Siberia, the open door in China, Yap, and so forth? She has seen that if she refuses to take part the other nations may arrive at agreements in respect thereto among themselves. The "Nichi Nichi" has already stated that a secret agreement has been entered into between the United States and Great Britain.

Japan is honestly nonplused at what appears an inevitable call that she outline her Asiatic policy, for, in truth, she has none, or possibly it may be more correct to say that she has several, mainly that of the War Office and that of the rest of the Cabinet. Thus at the recent conference in Tokyo of members of the Cabinet, Japanese administrators, and officials on the mainland of Asia and others it was decided to turn a new leaf all around; troops would be withdrawn from Siberia and the Shantung Railway, and a more liberal policy followed towards China generally. This was not so very surprising, for the Hara administration has ever refused to follow the policy of its predecessors in respect to the great Republic just across the sea. But what has become of all these policies? Nothing. The General Staff refuses to withdraw the troops from Shantung unless certain conditions are agreed to, and, instead of taking troops out of Siberia, it has just sent in the Eleventh Division to relieve the Eighth. Under the circumstances, which is the Japanese policy—that of the Cabinet, with its good intentions, or that of the General Staff, which sardonically sits tight and controls the immediate situation?

This uncertainty, this lack of ability to guarantee a policy, the necessity of making a showdown, accounts to some extent for the quandary in which Japan finds herself. It is possible that to those who wish to follow an open, liberal policy the Conference may afford an opportunity to free themselves from the militarist yoke, for it seems inconceivable that even the reactionaries of the General Staff would dare to violate undertakings entered into in a conference of the world's leading nations; but, on the other hand, no matter how much they may resent the iron dominance of the militarists, they are first and foremost Japanese, and they cannot look with equanimity on what appears the underhanded conduct of their ally, and they do not wish to have to treat with what seems a pistol at their head.

One thing has already been accomplished, which will in some measure make towards world peace, and that is that Japan has been made to realize that if she pursues a reactionary policy in the Far East she will stand alone, that the hands of all other nations of standing will be against her. She knows that now. She found it out during the first two or three days of surprised speculation over the vast potentialities indicated in the apparently rather innocuous Harding note. It will take some time before the effect reaches the masses, for these do not think, except on the very broadest and most puerile terms, on international questions. The question of what the effect will be presents one of the most interesting propositions which has ever arisen in the modern Far East. Some writers are already advocating a conciliatory attitude towards Russia, the forming of some sort of combination with Moscow, with Bolshevism left out. Undoubtedly others will advocate closer relations with Germany, for Japan has never forgotten her old love for the Kaiser's country. Many writers are sorry that Japan's high-handed methods of the past have made China inimical; they want to kiss and make up. However, these solutions are all too distant to be of any value at present. Russia in her present condition can be of no value as an ally, nor can Germany, and China's memory is not so short that she can forget the Twenty-one Demands.

It is certain that at no time has Japan been engaged in taking stock of her policies and her position in respect to other nations as she has during the few days following the Harding inquiry. History in the Orient will depend on what course she decides to follow.

PICTORIAL PHOTOGRAPHY

THE fifth summer conference of the Pictorial Photographers of America took place at Canaan, Connecticut, the first week in August. Photographers from various sections of this country, and also a representative from the City of Mexico, were present to confer and to exhibit their work. Demonstrations of certain novel processes were given, most of them being of a somewhat technical character. No outstanding developments or inventions seem to have been produced during the year, or for several years for that matter, as the disturbing influence of the war and its aftermath has affected photography as it has so many other activities. The greatest inventions in recent years in connection with photography—those of color plates and motion pictures—still fall short of complete success. Color photography, to be perfected, must include an easy method of printing paper as well as the production of transparencies as in the Lumière process; and motion pictures still await the successful application of a simple and inexpensive process for showing figures and scenes in natural colors.

The bromoil process in photography, which was invented a few years ago, seems at present to be attracting the attention of the leading photographic pictorialists throughout the world. An example of this kind of work is shown on the opposite page. This is a complicated and laborious process, and while capable in expert hands of extremely pleasing results, it can never be a commercial rival of the older methods. It necessitates the patient development of each print by bringing it up with a brush held in the fingers, successive "dabs" finally producing the finished print.

At the Conference, which was presided over by the well-known portraitist Clarence H. White, interesting demonstrations were given, consisting of the selection, from a given point, of the most available subject for a landscape photograph, by Mr. W. E. Macnaughtan, president of the photographic section of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences; of the most effective methods of flower arrangement, by Mlle. Kichi Harada, of Japan, with accompanying photographic studies; of the use of kallitype, a process revived during the war, by Mr. Dwight A. Davis, of Worcester, Massachusetts; and of new methods in connection with the bromoil process, by Messrs. W. A. Alcock, of New York, and Bernard S. Horne, of Princeton, New Jersey.

The interest shown in the Conference indicates the increasing employment of photography as an art process.

HENRY HOYT MOORE.

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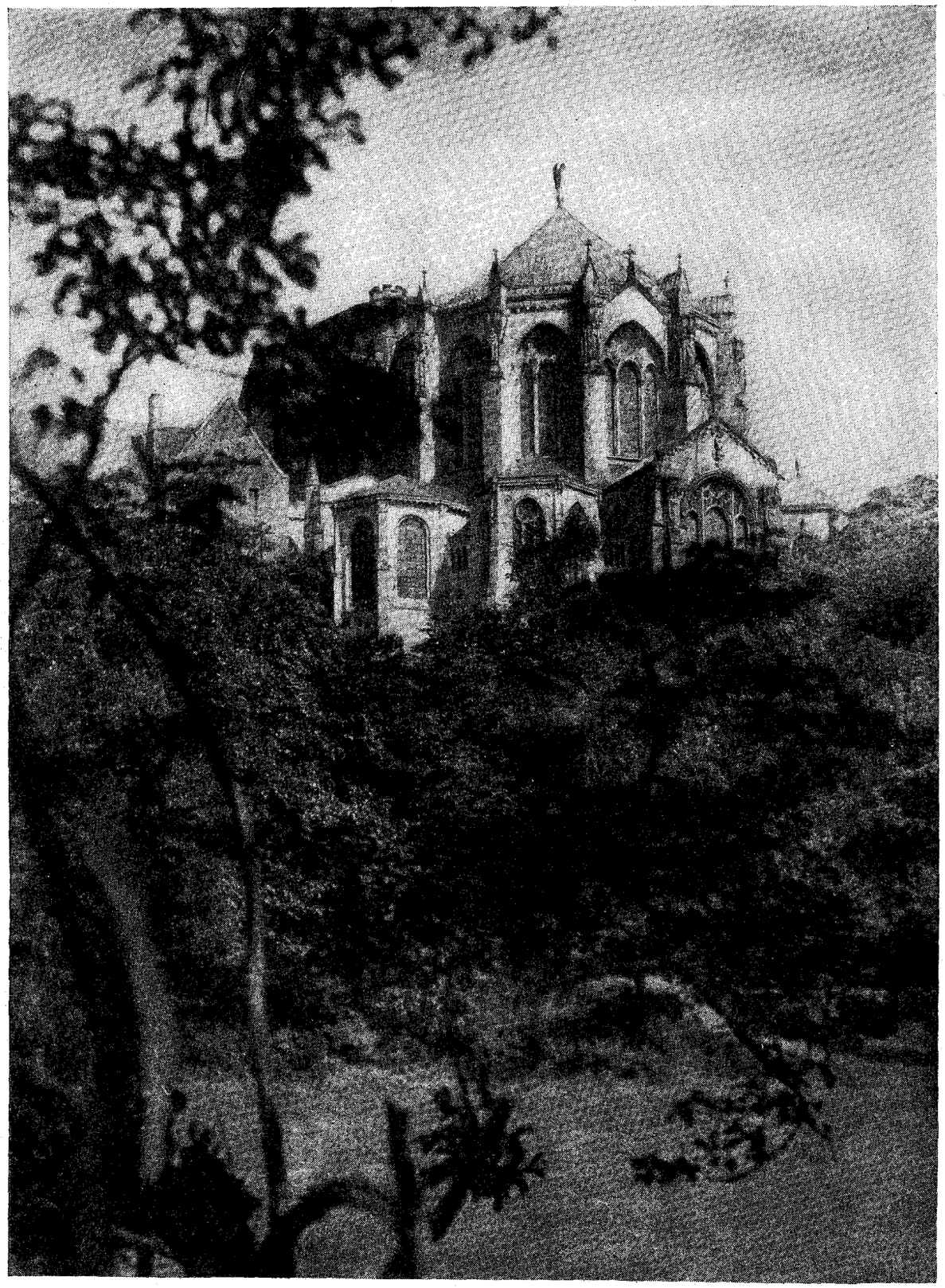

CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE, NEW YORK CITY

FROM A BROMOIL PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES C. COPPOLA

(See comment on opposite page)

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SNAP-SHOTS OF MY CONTEMPORARIES

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

ALICE FREEMAN PALMER—TEACHER

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ALICE FREEMAN PALMER

HENRY F. DURANT, a successful lawyer in Massachusetts, was converted under the preaching of Dwight L. Moody in 1864, became himself a lay preacher, eleven years later set apart a large portion of his very considerable fortune to the foundation of a college for girls at Wellesley, a suburb of Boston, and thereafter devoted to the organization and management of the college most of his time and his thought until his death in 1881. The college building was erected on an eminence above a lake, on the opposite shore of which was the Durants' home. The ample college grounds, beautifully diversified, included three hundred acres —one, he once told me, for each pupil. When I visited Wellesley College, probably in 1879, Mr. Durant was spending much of his time in the College, holding and exercising a controlling influence in the conduct of its affairs, and Miss Alice Freeman was teaching history, and, if my memory does not mislead me, was also busy creating a library out of a growing collection of books.

From the first she fascinated me. Whether a sculptor would consider her features beautiful I do not know. Beauty of features has never much appealed to me. But through her always expressive face shone a beautiful spirit. Native refinement, scholarly culture, intuitive imagination, unhesitating courage, womanly grace, and spontaneity of life combined to make that beauty.

Profoundly interested in the movement to widen the intellectual horizon of women and open to them the long-locked doors of opportunity to public service, she was then and always feminine. This, my first impression, I want to impress upon my reader, because if I fail to do so I shall lamentably fail to interpret the subject of this portrait. If I am asked what I mean by feminine, I reply frankly that I do not know. No man can define feminine. For to man the charm of woman is that she keeps him guessing. For this reason novelists fail in their heroines. The masculine reader of "David Copperfield" approves of Agnes, though she rather bores him, but delights in Dora, though he disapproves of her. On the other hand, Portia in the "Merchant of Venice" is a delightful heroine to the masculine mind because the Portia of the casket scene is so different from the Portia of the judgment scene. Alice Freeman Palmer seemed to me, I think from that first introduction to her, like an opal; you can always be sure to find a wonderful light in it, but with what changing colors it will glow when you next look at it you cannot tell; no one can tell.

I think it was because she was so feminine that she exercised over Mr. Durant an influence which no one else exercised and no one else could quite comprehend. This influence inspired him to select her, at the age of twenty-six, to be President of the College. He was a Puritan Christian. Prompt obedience to law was to him the sum of all virtues. One day as he and Miss Freeman were consulting together on some college business, a college girl passed by the open door. The following colloquy took place:

Mr. Durant. Miss Freeman, I wish you would speak to that girl about her soul's salvation. She is in need of such counsel as you could give her.

Miss Freeman. I will make it my business to get acquainted with her. What is her name?

Mr. Durant. No! no! I want you to speak to her now. She has just passed by.

Miss Freeman. I can't do that. I can't talk on this most sacred of subjects with a girl I have never known.

Mr. Durant. Yes! Now! Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation.

Miss Freeman (after a little longer parley). Why, Mr. Durant, it is impossible. You don't know anything about girls.

Mr. Durant. I don't know anything about girls! Why, I have founded this College for girls; and I have been meeting them every week, almost every day, for the last three years. Why don't I know anything about girls?

Miss Freeman. Because you have never had a daughter; your wife is not like any other woman that ever lived; and you've never been a girl yourself.

Mrs. Palmer, who told me this incident, which I have here for brevity's sake put in dramatic form, added that often afterwards when in their conferences she could not agree with him he would bring the conference to a close by saying: "Well, I suppose I don't understand girls; I've never been a girl myself."

I do not think that I am mistaken in the opinion that Mr. Durant was more eager to make missionary Christians than to make ripe scholars. The incident already narrated illustrates his

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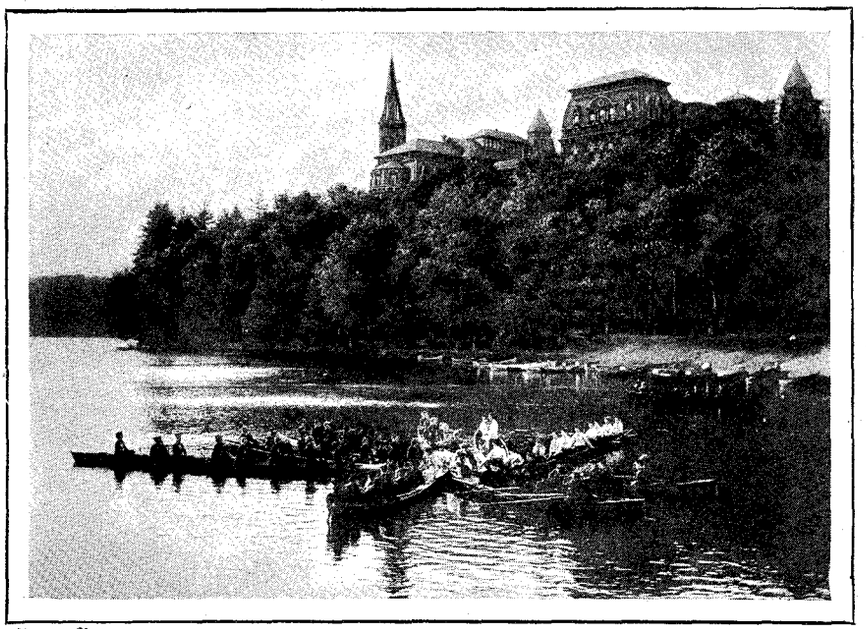
spiritual eagerness. Miss Freeman (I use the name she bore during those college days) was not less spiritually eager. But she did not think that Christian character and ripe scholarship were separate goals to be reached by separate roads, or that either was to be used merely as a means to attain the other. She habitually thought of the Christian religion in New Testament terms as "life;" to inspire her pupils with life was always her inspiring purpose. Professor Palmer, in his delightful biography of his wife, brings out this characteristic very clearly:

> "Why will you," I said, "give all this time to speaking before uninstructed audiences, to discussions in endless committees with people too dull to know whether they are talking to the point, and to anxious interviews with tired and tiresome women? You would exhaust yourself less in writing books of lasting consequence. At present you are building no monument. When you are gone people will ask who you were, and nobody will be able to say." But I always received the same indifferent answer: "Well, why should they say? I am trying to make girls wiser and happier. Books don't help much toward that. They are entertaining enough, but really dead things. Why should I make more of them? It is people that count. You want to put yourself into people; they touch other people; these, others still, and so you go on working forever."

"It is people that count." That I think is one of the keys to Alice Freeman Palmer's character. She was not especially interested in themes or theories; but she was tremendously interested in people. I was once told by a friend of a young graduate who had just taken up teaching, and who, asked by a companion, What are you teaching? replied, "Twenty children." When I first knew her, Miss Freeman was teaching three hundred college girls. They absorbed all her attention. She had especially prepared herself to teach history. But my guess is that she could have given points to any teacher in her Faculty. She probably did not know mathematics as well as the professor of mathematics or philosophy as well as the professor of philosophy or Greek as well as the professor of Greek, but she knew girls and she could have shown any specialist in her Faculty how to get the girl mind open to any truth the specialist wanted to get into that mind.

Walking through the College corridors with the President, her personal familiarity with her three hundred pupils filled me with ever-increasing amazement. She not only seemed to know them all by name; she knew their families and their interests. She asked one about the sick mother, another whether her father had yet returned from Europe, another whether her younger sister was getting ready to come to College. "How ever do you do it?" I asked her. "I never could." "Oh, yes," she replied; "you could if you had to. It is simply that you never had to. Whatever we have to do, we can always do." In narrating after her death this conversation to her husband, I added, what I venture to quote here: "This quiet confidence in the ability to do what needs to be done seems to me one of the secrets of her power. She leaned on her necessities, instead of letting herself be broken by them; and that simple disclosure of her method has greatly added to the power of my life."



Brown Bros

WELLESLEY COLLEGE FROM LAKE WABAN

"The college building was erected on an eminence above a lake. . . . The ample college grounds, beautifully diversified, included three hundred acres"

No doubt this power to carry in her busy mind these details of the lives of others was in part a native gift; but it was one which she assiduously cultivated, and she told me once what she did to cultivate it. She kept a memorandum book in her bedroom in which were the names of all the freshman class. Under each name she wrote whatever information she from time to time acquired. These notes of her pupils' characters and experiences she studied as they studied their notes of the lectures of their instructors. Thus while her students studied their lessons she studied her students, and she put no less painstaking into her studies than the most studious of them put into theirs. And this was no compulsory or professional study. She delighted in it. She wished to know every pupil that she might better befriend every pupil. It was true for her then, as it was true for her always, "It is people that count."

She had not only interest in her pupils and affection for them. She had faith in them, believed in them, and by her faith inspired them to have faith in themselves. Little beginnings of desire, mere seeds, sprouted in the sunshine of her appreciative faith. It often happens that our deeper desires are hidden even from ourselves by some superficial wishes, our enduring purposes by some temporary inclinations. Miss Freeman saw these subconscious forces and gave them power. She could control by authority when necessary; but she much preferred to call into life the power of self-control. Her life was full of such incidents as the following, narrated by her husband:

> Amusing stories are reported of girls who came to ask for something, and went away delighted to have obtained the opposite.
>
> One of them says: "In the spring of my senior year I had an invitation to spend the holidays in Washington, and my family strongly urged me to arrange the visit. Overjoyed, I went to Miss Freeman to obtain permission to leave college several days before the vacation. She was very warm, envying me the prospect of seeing the Capitol for the first time. She promised to ask the Faculty for permission and to state to them how great the opportunity for me was. But she inquired how many examinations and written exercises I should miss, incidentally calling my attention to the fact that the professors would have to give me special ones in the following term. Gradually I felt the disadvantage of this irregularity. Still, there was Washington! And I asked if she herself would not be tempted to go? Indeed she would, she said, but college work was the nearest, the first business. A Washington invitation might come again; a senior year in college, never. So, quite as if my own judgment had been my guide, I decided that I did not want to go to Washington. A little later, when the office door had closed, I stopped on the stairs and asked myself if this was the same person who had passed there half an hour before, and what had induced me to give up the coveted journey when there was no hint on Miss Freeman's part of compulsion, much less of refusal."

In laying emphasis, as throughout this article I am doing, on Miss Free-

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man's power to awaken the spirit of life in her pupils and direct it in healthful channels, I must not leave the impression that she shared the extraordinary opinion of some skeptics of our time that it is possible to cultivate in any community the spirit of religion without its institutions. As well expect to cultivate the spirit of music in a community without concerts, of art in a community without picture galleries, of education in a community without schools. She conducted the daily chapel exercises herself, and they were never perfunctory. The Scripture readings and the hymns were selected with care, and the services, varying with the varying need of the College or the varying mood of the President, were always characterized by a sincere and simple spiritual beauty. She herself selected with care the preachers for the Sunday services; and what she expected from them and how much she herself put into them by the phrasing of her invitations the following much-prized letter may here indicate:

Wellesley College,
January 18, 1886.

My dear Dr. Abbott:

Is it not time that we should hear your voice in the chapel again? It seems so to us, and that *the* time of times is approaching when you can help and strengthen us here. The last Thursday of this month, the 28th, is the Day of Prayer for Colleges. It has always been a great day in Wellesley, a day full of seed-sowing, and often of decisions at which we have long rejoiced. All college exercises are suspended for the day. We have a sermon in the morning, and such other services for prayer and conference as seem to be useful at the time; but the day and evening are given up to thought and prayer for all colleges and schools, especially for our own, and for all here who are not Christians. We want you and Mrs. Abbott with us on this day very much. The work you did with the students last year makes it possible for you to do more for them now than anyone else, and I long to have this serious and prayerful spirit which now prevails in the College, guided and deepened until we shall be *one* in Him. If you can come on for Thursday and follow the work of that day, by speaking to the students Friday following at their Bible hour in the afternoon, it would just meet our desire. You see, dear Dr. Abbott, what we need. We have had *very* good daily meetings during the week of prayer, growing in interest, so that we have continued to have meetings in the chapel Tuesday as well as Thursday evenings, and each one is more hopeful than the last. Yet there are nearly a hundred here whose names are not on the Christian Association roll and whose lives are not devoted to our Master; and so many more who need clearer ideas of duty and larger faith in Him. I know you need no assurance of our desire and no urging to come to our help. If you can find it possible and wise for yourself, you will make us a visit now and stay as long as you can and bring "the family." The Cottage is not yet finished, but we can make you comfortable *in the midst of things*, and you shall have so many chances to do good! There is nothing I can offer beyond that, is there? And there is much to tell and hear and many bits of advice you two people can give us.

I should have written this to Mrs. Abbott, but I have no doubt she is reading it to spare you the trouble, like the wife she is. Otherwise I would assure you that she needs a vacation and that we will be better to her this time if she will come and bring you. As it is I leave it all to you both with Wellesley's love always.

Yours faithfully,
ALICE E. FREEMAN.

Once and only once did I see Miss Freeman angry, and then it was her religion which made her so. An unselfish anger is not a brief madness, and her anger did not disturb her quiet and wise judgment or lead her even for a moment to lose her perfect self-control.

The Committee of the American Board (Congregational) for Foreign Missions, acting under the leadership of one of its secretaries, who subsequently resigned his office, adopted the policy of refusing volunteers for foreign missionary service unless they could subscribe to the secretary's affirmation that all the heathen who had never heard of Christ were foredoomed and irreparably lost. Her indignation, in which I fully shared, was as much because of the wrong it did the Christian Church as because of the wrong it did two of her pupils, devoted followers of Christ, fully equipped for a Christian service to which they had dedicated themselves and for which they had for some years been preparing. During the controversy in the Congregational churches which that refusal created, and which lasted for two or three years, I was in frequent consultation with Miss Freeman and admired alike her indignation and her strong will which controlled and her wise judgment which directed it to beneficent ends. Emotion, like fire, is a good servant. Alice Freeman Palmer was a woman of strong emotions, but they were always under the control of a stronger will.

Another incident in her life indicated this self-control. For nothing perhaps better illustrates this habitual control over the emotions than the power to lay aside a fascinating work on occasions and give the overstrained nerves a rest. The ability to do this is the best preventive of nervous exhaustion. Miss Freeman, who followed her Master in daring to undertake great things and in giving herself without reserve to their accomplishment, followed him also in dropping her work from time to time for periods of absolute repose. Occasionally, leaving word with one companion whither she was going, she would disappear, no one else knew where or why. In fact, she engaged a room in a hotel in Boston, stayed in retirement for one, two, or three days, and then came back to take up her work again with rested nerves and recuperated strength.

When in December, 1887, she married Professor George H. Palmer, of Harvard College, she resigned the Presidency of Wellesley College, and with it the professional vocation of teacher. She continued to teach by pen or by voice and to take an active part by her counsels in the educational work of her State by her service on the Massachusetts Board of Education. But her personal relation as teacher to pupil came to an end. And therefore with that change in her life activity this sketch comes to an end, for this is not a life but a portrait, and a portrait only of the teacher.

Not all her friends congratulated her on her marriage. Some thought she might have married and still retained her office; some thought she was giving up a position of great influence and power for a minor position. I shared neither opinion. A happy marriage, I believe, is always a promotion, always adds not only to the happiness but to the largeness and richness of life. A warm personal friend of both, I congratulated both without any reserve. And I had no wish to see Alice Freeman become a divided president and a divided wife; and I had no apprehension that she would do so. I felt what in the following verse she has expressed with a beauty of diction which I could never emulate:

Great love has triumphed. At a crisis hour
Of strength and struggle in the heights of life
He came, and, bidding me abandon power,
Called me to take the quiet name of wife.

If any of my readers desire a better acquaintance with Alice Freeman Palmer, the material is available in her biography written by her husband with a simplicity that is more than eloquence and with a frankness that is the best possible reserve. From a little book of her verse, not written for the public but published by her husband after her death, I select here one verse, because it is a revelation of the deeper experience of her hidden life:

ACQUAINTANCE WITH GRIEF

I said to Pain, "I will not have thee here!
The nights are weary and the days are drear
In thy hard company."
He clasped me close and held me still so long
I learned how deep his voice, how sweet his song,
How far his eyes can see.

It was customary in the eighties for Wellesley College girls to elect honorary members to their classes. That honor was conferred upon me. Thus enrolled among the pupils of Alice Freeman Palmer, I venture to represent them as well as myself by writing beneath this simple pen picture of our honored teacher:

Thy gentleness hath made me great.

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THE TRAINING GROUND OF BRITISH STATESMEN

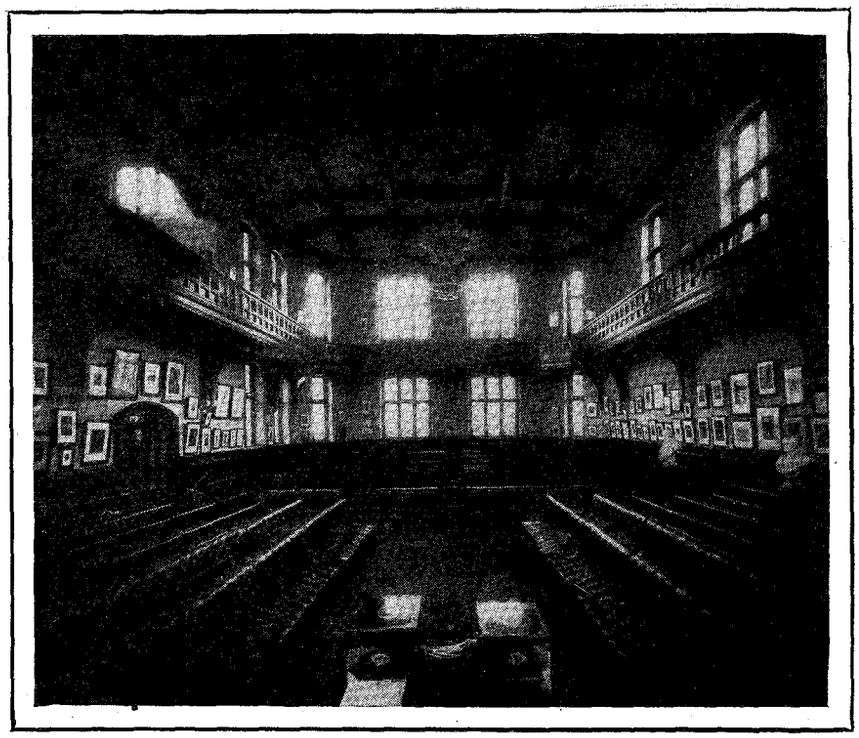
BY BEVERLEY NICHOLS

EX-PRESIDENT OF THE OXFORD UNION SOCIETY

I AM frequently asked by Americans what part of an Oxford career I consider to be most valuable, and I am tempted to quote in reply the words of Lord Robert Cecil when he was speaking to a packed audience of undergraduates at the Oxford Union Society on October 23, 1919. He said: "On the whole, Mr. President, I think I can say that the hours I spent in this Society were the least wasted of any in my university career." Whether that was a compliment to the Union or a rebuff to Oxford in general may be left to the reader's discretion, but Lord Robert was President himself in 1885, so presumably he meant it kindly enough. In any case, he was but one of the many distinguished men who have passed some of their happiest and their most instructive hours in the Union.

The Oxford Union Society may legitimately trace its origin to the short-lived United Debating Society, which came into existence in the year 1823. The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed a reawakening of the consciousness of university as apart from purely college ties; and the renewed interest in public questions which marked the period could not fail to provide a Society possessing a body of public opinion wider and more diverse than was possible in any single college. The United Debating Society existed for less than three years; in the end of 1825 its leader found that their discussions were marred by the "boyish folly" of some of its number, and, for the purpose of excluding these "turbulent members," the Society on December 3, 1825, dissolved itself. It was immediately reconstituted as the Oxford Union Society, and its first public meeting was held in "one of the low-browed rooms of Christ Church," on the summons of Donald Maclean, of Balliol, late M.P. for the City of Oxford, who had been the first President of what may be called the parent society. From the date of this meeting (December 5, 1825), the Union Society has had a continuous existence.

I have called this article the Training Ground of British Statesmen, and, though it is an ambitious title, I think it is justified. No less than three great Prime Ministers have been President of the Union since the Society was founded—Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Asquith. Gladstone was President in 1831, and the minutes of the Society, which, when he was secretary, he kept with scrupulous neatness, and of which a photograph is shown on the following page, contain an amusing record of his connection with it. On November 11, 1830, the secretary (Gladstone) moved: "That the administration of the Duke of Wellington is undeserving of the confidence of the country." If you look at the bottom of the minutes, you will see in Gladstone's own writing: "The House then divided, when the President announced that the motion was carried by a majority of *one*. (Tremendous cheering)." Immediately after this entry something was obviously scratched out, and an examination of the original shows that the words were "Tremendous cheering from the majority—ONE." Whether Gladstone himself crossed them out or whether they were erased by an indignant and bewhiskered supporter of the Iron Duke, is a matter which history does not relate. In any case, next term, Gladstone, when President, took the opportunity of sternly and eloquently condemning "the practice which some honorable gentleman had lately adopted, of defacing the records of the Society."



Photograph by Hills & Saunders

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD—THE MAIN DEBATING HALL AS SEEN FROM THE PRESIDENT'S CHAIR

The gallery is for the accommodation of visitors, and is now usually filled with lady undergraduates. On the right may be seen busts of two ex-Presidents of the Society, Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury

When Gladstone was President, the Union was naturally a very small thing compared to the present institution. As the photograph of the debating hall will show, it is now amply furnished for the display of forensic ability. Debates are held every Thursday night, and last from eight o'clock to about half-past eleven, when we trudge home, elated or depressed, according to the result, through the dark old streets to our respective colleges. They are exciting affairs, these debates. Imagine the benches crowded with hundreds of not altogether silent undergraduates. In the gallery a couple of hundred visitors, many of them ladies, among whom many newly fledged girl undergraduates may be distinguished by means of their very becoming black caps and gowns. At the despatch boxes a speaker is gesticulating, thumping, playing with the water-bottle, etc.—we know all the tricks, even though we may be, some of us, very young men.

The results of some of these debates may not be without interest for those who believe that in the opinions of the young Englishmen of to-day will be found the actions of our Empire of to-morrow. It is true that the audience of this Society, more than any other society in the world, is moved by eloquence. But, though it will applaud the epigrammatist and respect a finished peroration, it will not be misled by the art of a speaker to neglect the true facts of the case.

The present tendency of our debates seems to be towards the left, but not the extreme left. [That is, the liberal but not radical.] Since the armistice we have voted, among other questions:

1. That the Peace Treaty is an economic disaster to Europe.

2. That the present foreign policy of the Government should be immediately

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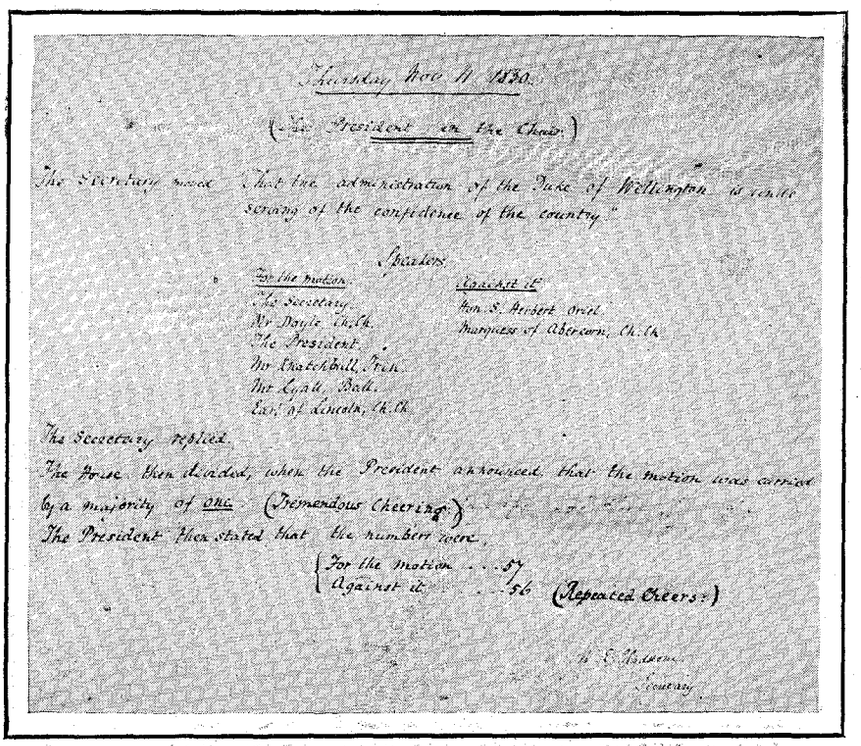

Thursday Nov 8 1850.

(The President in the Chair.)

The Secretary moved That the administration of the Duke of Wellington is worthy of the confidence of the country.

Speakers.

For the motion
The Secretary
Mr Doyle Ch. Ch.
The President
Mr Chatchbull, Trin.
Mr Lyall, Ball.
Earl of Lincoln, Ch. Ch.

Against it
Hon. S. Arbert Orell
Marquess of Abercorn, Ch. Ch.

The Secretary replied.

The House then divided, when the President announced that the motion was carried by a majority of one. (Tremendous Cheering.)

The President then stated that the numbers were,

For the motion . . . 57
Against it . . . 56 (Repeated Cheers.)

MINUTES OF THE OXFORD UNION SOCIETY KEPT BY MR. GLADSTONE WHEN HE WAS SECRETARY (FOR EXPLANATION SEE TEXT)

supplanted by an effective League of Nations.

3. That we approve of the abolition of compulsory Greek in the University.

4. That we disapprove of the recent triumphs of the feminist movement.

5. That we support the Indian policy of Mr. Montagu.

6. That a levy on capital is financially unsound.

7. That we would welcome the immediate grant of Dominion Home Rule to Ireland.

These results I have chosen at random, but they may be taken, on the whole, as typical of the way the undergraduate mind is working. And, whether or not you agree with the results, I do not think it can be denied that, at any rate, the undergraduate of to-day shows no lack of interest in the problems by which his country is confronted.

Perhaps, apart from the actual speeches, the part of the debate which will most amuse the visitor is what is known as "Private Business." This is a period of about half an hour before the debate begins, and is opened by the President asking if there are any "questions to officers relative to the discharge of their official duties." There follows a regular bombardment of questions, in which any member of the Society can get up and ask what he likes. Unless the officers are very alert indeed they will find themselves looking extremely foolish. However, practice makes perfect, and some of the answers lately delivered have been brilliantly witty. For example:

A loquacious young man gets up at the back of the hall and says: "Sir, will you please inform hon. members why there is no water in the stamp-lickers in the writing-rooms?"

The President bows. "It is the first time," he replies calmly, "that I have known the hon. member unwilling to use his tongue." Loud applause!

Or again:

"Sir, is it true that during the vacation you set the Thames on fire?"

"No, sir," replies the President; "but I sometimes find it necessary to burn 'The Isis.'" ("The Isis" is the University weekly paper.)

And so the questions go on. Thrust and parry, give and take—there is no bitterness, but a great deal of wit and a great deal of laughter. Many is the member of Parliament who first learned the art of dealing with hecklers by the questions which were asked him in this happy assembly of young men.

Gladstone, Salisbury, Asquith, statesmen like Lord Robert Cecil, lawyers like the Lord Chancellor and Sir John Simon, men of letters like Hilaire Belloc, prelates such as William Temple and the Archbishop of York—all these swell the proud list of those who in their happiest days were Presidents of the Oxford Union Society.

The nursery of so much enthusiasm, the origin of so many ideals, for the last hundred years the Union has been the training ground of our statesmen. And a worthy training ground it has proved itself to be.

EXPELLED FROM SCHOOL

BY WINFIELD BROWN

NOW and then a boy is sent away from school for disciplinary reasons. It does not appear that he has been so very wicked. Yet the parents know that they must run the gauntlet of neighborhood comment and that theirs will be the ordeal of making explanations to friends and relatives. Sorrow and disgrace seem to have come upon the family. Nor can they understand the head master's attitude, since he seems to say in one and the same breath: "We really think you should not be discouraged about John, for he has good stuff in him; *but*, we cannot on any consideration permit him to remain longer in the school."

The conversation has developed along lines like these:

Father. Now, Mr. Blank, you know just as well as I do that there is nothing morally wrong in what my son did.

Head Master. I have never stated that I considered that John had committed any moral wrong, Mr. Smith. In fact, I think that after this experience as a lesson he will make a useful citizen at some other school.

Father. Then why not here?

Head Master. That would, I regret to say, be impossible.

The poor father mops his brow. The thing seems to him absurd and unjust. He continues: "But suppose he had done something actually bad—for example, had stolen money from another boy. Don't you see that even then you couldn't punish him any more than you are doing now? You are sending him away with the same brand you would put on a thief or worse. I call that unfair."

Here are two conflicting points of view. The parent argues that it is incumbent on the school, somehow or other, to make a go of it with the boy as long as he breaks no moral law; while the school's attitude may be summed up tersely in a saying frequently used by a certain head master of a well-known institution: "Hamilton[1] does not intend to fool with any boy who intends to fool with Hamilton." He meant, I take it, that everybody concerned must play according to the letter and spirit of the rules or else get out of the game, instead of spoiling it for the other players. Which is right, the parent or the school?

We are, as already stated, barring out from consideration all cases where some startling offense against morals is involved, for here there could be no argu-

[1] This name is of course not the name of the institution.

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ment, no difference of opinion. In so doing we are not narrowing the field of discussion as much as might be imagined, but are treating of the rule rather than the exception; for sensational outbreaks are rare at school, and expulsions are more often than not traceable to smaller issues.

John has therefore committed no heinous offense, yet the school throws up its hands. Mr. Smith cannot assent to the justice of this. Which is right? I shall not attempt to give a direct answer to that question. There are, however, certain conditions under which schools have to be governed. Some account of these and a certain amount of theorizing on my part as to the psychology of cases like John's may serve to throw a little light on this subject.

I

There is one paramount claim which the school makes on every pupil and on every master, and that is loyalty to the organization: cheerful acceptance by each of the purposes for which all are gathered together and willing effort to bring those purposes to fruition. A head master can afford, up to a certain point, to be patient with one who will not give that loyalty; but beyond a certain point he cannot, dare not go. For disloyalty and disaffection are as catching as measles.

No school ever intends to let go of any one of its young charges until it has tried to save him by every device it knows; the only reason why it does not keep on trying indefinitely is that matters eventually reach a stage where the authority of the school and the morale of the other students, and not the reclamation of one disaffected individual, becomes the issue. If at this stage the boy is wrong-headed or weak enough to force the school's hand, let the point of discipline involved be as trivial as you like, he automatically "fires" himself. A school can by the strength of its sound members carry a certain amount of dead weight and even counteract some tugging in the wrong direction, but it is in duty bound to know where it must draw the line.

Because, from the very nature of the problem, there is always a place at which the line must be drawn. Any person acquainted with the ground I am discussing knows this to be so. A boarding-school for boys is a very interesting segment of society. To speak quite accurately, it is a society in itself, a little organism as complete and independent as a distant frontier post, like Quebec or Plymouth in the seventeenth century, or, if one prefers, like a band of shipwrecked people who, finding themselves on some lonely shore, have had to organize and legislate for their own betterment and self-preservation. Their laws would not be the laws of London or Paris, being necessarily at once more trivial and more rigid. Individualists and Anarchists would be particularly dangerous and would be dealt with in a way that might seem hard to people who live under other conditions. A good deal of sympathy, for example, has been expressed for Roger Williams and for Mrs. Hutchinson, much of it misplaced. To-day they would be ornaments to society and pleasant people to meet and to know (in spite of a pinkish variety of Sovietism which I fear they would affect), but along the shores of Massachusetts Bay in the sixteen hundreds they were trouble-makers and the community saw no other course than to get rid of them.

Like the tiny civic groups of colonial days, where people were thrown in intimate contact with each other and where prosperity could come only from harmony and team-play, a school for its success must be able to count on the loyalty of its members. Not merely the loyalty that cheers for the teams and proudly believes one's own school to be the best, though that is all very good as far as it goes. The kind of loyalty which the school cannot get along without is work and obedience ungrudgingly given by boys who know that if their school does not command these it is not worth cheering for. This aspect of school spirit did not interest John, and that fact was the chief cause of his undoing.

II

Let us not, however, be too hard on John, for no schoolboy is perfect. Who ever heard of a place where all the rules were obeyed all the time? Consider what that would mean: scores, possibly hundreds, of boys picking their way through mazes of laws without even a single trip-up! School life is complex, and local rules reflect this complexity. Imagine the average institution—boys, masters and their families, school cooks, maids, and janitors—numbering at least two or three hundred people, and maybe more. There are acres of land and a considerable group of buildings—the permanent plant. The ideal code to promulgate for the guidance of any such student body would be to say, "There is only one rule you need remember, just one: 'Be a gentleman.'" Such advantages as this single statute would confer by virtue of its simplicity would be lost on account of its vagueness. What is a gentleman, anyway? Does a gentleman go to bed and get up when he pleases? Does he smoke? Does he go on the pond in early winter before Mr. G—— (the heavy-weight of the faculty) has, by intrusting his bulk to the icy surface without disaster, certified to the world that it is a safe thing to do? Does a gentleman go hatless when the thermometer sags below zero? May a gentleman, without declassing himself, keep a dog, white mice, a motor cycle, or an automobile? Would a gentleman give a midnight banquet to several other gentlemen on the fire-escape? Or keep pet turtles in the bathtub?

Look at the matter as one will, rules have to be specific and *(hélas!)* numerous. Doubtless the very profusion with which they sprout and grow on school soil is one reason for indifferent feet treading on them. Nearly all boys break rules. In this they resemble us grown-ups. Nobody, for instance, who owns and drives a motor car (and who is there to-day who does not?) is over-nice about preferring his own convenience to certain municipal regulations. Does anybody consistently obey the speed laws? Who hasn't at one time or another taken chances with city parking regulations? Yet do we any the less consider ourselves good and law-abiding citizens? We feel (do we not?) that in the big things we are sound; that, while we may not kow-tow to every little last *verboten* on the statute-books, we do make honest income-tax returns and maintain a high respect for the Decalogue and the Golden Rule. I do not say that we are right in all this; I am simply saying that this is what we do. Boys at school draw similar distinctions without departing, in their own estimation, from a high-grade loyalty. Not a day goes by but some youth takes a short cut and ignores some local law. Yet schoolmasters do not lose heart. Nor should they, for most of these violations are inherent in human nature. Boys will be boys just as surely as men will be men. Correcting these petty infractions is all in the day's work, a work which aims to wear off the rough corners of personal selfishness and to teach the inspiration that comes from learning the lesson of working with others for the good of the group. This lesson will be learned by a boy, in spite of occasional slips, provided his spirit is good.

John, however, couldn't seem to bring himself even to want to learn the lesson. He lived "to get away with something." He was "agin the government," and whatever brains or influence he possessed was used to turn his comrades against the government. To be sure, he never did anything which, judged by the codes of jurisprudence, would have led to a fine or a jail, but he got down in his lessons and dragged others with him. It seemed with him a *parti pris* to be a nuisance. Nobody could tell him much, for he felt little respect for his masters. He could see by their standards of living that they were not earning many dollars per year. That showed them up, didn't it? Red-blooded men with broad minds were out in business pulling down real money. John's name got to be a by-word at faculty meetings. Argument, persuasion, and appeals addressed to him brought no response. What screws of discipline were available were put on. The moment finally came when he had to change heart or change schools. For there really are no means of coercion within the academic walls even were it desirable to use them. Flogging has been abandoned. Modern schools do not intend to be jails. There is no armory of punishments on which to draw.

III

The lesson of full, unstinted loyalty, of acceptation of high standards that exact work and obedience, is not an easy

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one for any boy. Aside from the fact that all young people (and a fair number of older ones) share a common aversion to tasks and discipline, there are many elements in school life which tend to confuse the individual so that it is some time before he finds himself. For one thing, I may mention the peculiar effect which a crowd of boys produce upon each other. The gregariousness of it all is simply too delightful to be resisted. Never did Willie Jones imagine that the world contained so many wonderful fellows. To his youthful mind the whole thing takes on the aspect of a huge, protracted house party. It depends to a great extent on his mental background—that is, his previous home training—whether or not he can manage to keep his head in this new, dazzling environment. Without habits of obedience already acquired he will be heavily handicapped at school. Too many children to-day have their own way at home, either openly and flagrantly or (which is more common) in such a tactful and circuitous fashion as to save the face of authority. The word "No" seems void of finality. "No" may possibly mean "No" at six o'clock; but with *finesse* and diplomacy, it may easily mean "Yes" at seven. This is a poor preparation for a place where obedience (in order that things may run smoothly) must be quickly and cheerfully given. Quickly, because if every requirement made of a boy is to be discussed and argued everything else comes to a standstill and little is accomplished; cheerfully, because nothing is gained if the boy obeys, but obeys sullenly.

Another most discouraging type to assimilate is the boy who accepts the school "with reservations," who arrives, so to speak, with his fingers crossed. Most students are of course more or less "master shy," at least at the beginning; but some there are who persistently refuse to give either their friendship or their confidence. Until the masters can guess just what is the particular brand of salt to put on their tails these shy birds might just as well have stayed in the home nest for any good the school may be doing them. Some are colorless and do no active harm; but elements of danger are there, and many of this sort become militantly disaffected, and get into trouble as a consequence. What goes on within their minds must be a matter for conjecture, since the only revelation of an inner state which they consent to make to the magisterial tribe is "Yes, sir," "No, sir," "I don't know, sir." As natural camouflers they surpass the chameleon. Let me be rash and essay to reproduce in my own terminology what I guess to be their attitude, consciously or unconsciously held: "I will keep myself to myself, for (1) all grown-ups are interfering kill-joys, and (2) any teacher is a professional 'trouble-fête.'" Discount all this talk, my son. Masters always pour forth worthy utterances, it being the nature of the beast so to behave. *Quicquid id est*, etc.

The trouble here is a form of ignorance. The victim of this delusion suffers from lack of brains or imagination to see what school is, what life is, and what he, in particular, is in the world for. His reactions toward the people paid to guide and help him are those of the wild bird toward the well-intentioned human who might offer food or shelter. He doesn't know enough to see that it is not a snare, a threat to his liberty. This state of mind is cured by maturity and experience, but so long as it persists it is dangerous, since it removes its victim beyond the reach of helpful influence. It is the underlying cause of many cases like John's.

Would it be proper to make this suggestion? You are a parent and enjoy the confidence of your son. What you say he may be willing to believe. Why not tell him something like this? "My son, you are going soon to boarding-school. Now here is the proposition which, I am sure, you are already man enough to understand. I am spending a number of thousands of dollars to put you in the hands of specialists—the masters at the school. These men have my full confidence, else I would not send you to them. A person doesn't pay a doctor to prescribe for him and then, when the doctor isn't looking, pour the medicine down a crack. Anybody who did that would be an idiot. You won't be that kind of idiot with your masters, will you? Don't try to fool them. You only fool yourself. Do as they say, for they know."

Does this sound smug and self-complacent, coming from one who is himself a schoolmaster? I hope not. Nothing was farther from my thoughts than to pat myself on the head or offer bouquets to my confrères. Yet, if it isn't true that the men who run schools know their job—*ubinam gentium sumus?* And if it is true, the first persons to hear of it should be the schoolboys.

IV

I have tried to show what are some of the reasons for boys like John being expelled from school. And now a word of consolation for John's father and mother.

First, let us not stress too much the "disgrace" he has brought on himself and on the family. He has been wrong-headed, it is true, but we should all help him by believing in the fundamental goodness of his heart. He is now in a chastened frame of mind. There is every reason to believe that in his next school he will succeed. A man is not disgraced in the business world if he falls down on his first job, unless, of course, he has been involved in something shady. And I believe it to be harder at school than elsewhere to come through with flying colors.

Let us have all sympathy for the young, untaught, inexperienced, half-baked phenomenon we call a boy. He is called, on going away from home, suddenly to play a man's game. It is the greatest change, the most abrupt break that comes in his whole life. And at the same time his very body is changing and growing so fast that he may well exclaim with Antonio: "And I have much ado to know myself." The transition that comes later, between school and college, is in general not to be compared in its upsetting effects to this change from home to school life.

Apart from the matter of rules and lessons, moreover, school is not always a bed of roses. I am speaking now of the social, of the human side. Who can tell of all the annoyances, big and little, that for the time being upset, disgruntle, or sour the best-intentioned? A work day begins for Willie Jones. He is roused from slumber by a wet towel hurled with deadly accuracy against his unprotected face. This is effective; but I know of pleasanter awakenings, and so does Willie. He gets up to find that his tooth-brush has disappeared from his cubby-hole in the bath-room. Oh, the mystery of it—these pieces of property which at school take wings unto themselves and disappear! Yesterday it was his tennis racket. To-day it is a tooth-brush. Who would covet a tooth-brush? Never mind, he can get another. Then the cold shower. He is not very keen on cold showers, but the rules say he must take one. Breakfast follows. If he were at home, he could have coffee, or, in fact, anything else he wanted. There may be some cocoa left, if the big boys at the end of the table will condescend to pour him some. He prefers cream, of course, on his cereal. He helps himself to thin milk. Ah, what is this object in his dish? He pokes it aside and nudges his neighbor, who exclaims gleefully to the rest of the table, "Hi, look! Jonah's got a prize!" Some boys keep collections of these "prizes." I know of one exhibit that bordered on the marvelous; it consisted of a button, an insect, a safety-pin, a hairpin, a specimen of quartz—*que sais-je encore!*—Clang! Clang! Breakfast is over, and Willie jumps for chapel. He will spend the balance of the day in jumping—from class to class, thence to dinner, to play, to study, to supper, to study again, and, lastly, jumping to bed, which the maid may have forgotten to make or which possibly some loving classmate has "pied" for him. Truly, it may be said that home was never like this. Pin-pricks of course. Yes, but there are other trials. Perhaps Mr. Q——, the Latin master, was on the rampage that day, and, considering that Willie's theories concerning sequence of tenses savored of superficiality, roundly accused him with unnecessary sarcasm of being a lazy loafer. And that happened to be the very day that he had studied his lesson! These things hurt sometimes.

Then who can ever guess at the real heart-burnings within a boy's breast? "I can never be a good athlete! I can never make the school letter—never, never!" Or again, "Why couldn't Brown and Smith have let me kick football with them this afternoon? They're

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dandy fellows. I guess they don't like me. Am I a lemon? Oh, Lord, I wish I was popular!"

These are the things that go deep.

Arise, some master of story-telling art who knows schools and is willing to set his hand to the task of bringing "Tom Brown" up to date and across the water! For you there is a rich field. Your story, when written, will not be catalogued as "juvenile" any more than "Alice" or "Huckleberry Finn." We shall all read you greedily—parents, boys, and masters; in other words, everybody—and ask for more. For you will explain us all to each other, and from the riper understanding that we shall have (thanks to you) we shall work and play together with the harmony and co-operation that build achievement.

JOGGING UP "JOGRAPHY"

A STORY IN CONTRASTS

BY WILLIAM B. ASHLEY

HAS it occurred to you that perhaps it was not the churches, but the public schools, that failed to prevent the war?

To put it differently, was Dr. Wallace Walter Atwood, President of Clark University, correct when, in announcing Clark's intention to develop its teaching of geography along broad humanitarian lines, he emphasized the necessity of the American people becoming cognizant of the resources and actual living conditions in all parts of the world and informed as to the character of the various peoples, their hopes and ideals, declaring:

"We have reached the stage in development when our further growth, perhaps our peaceful existence, depends upon our judgment in dealing with the other peoples of the world"?

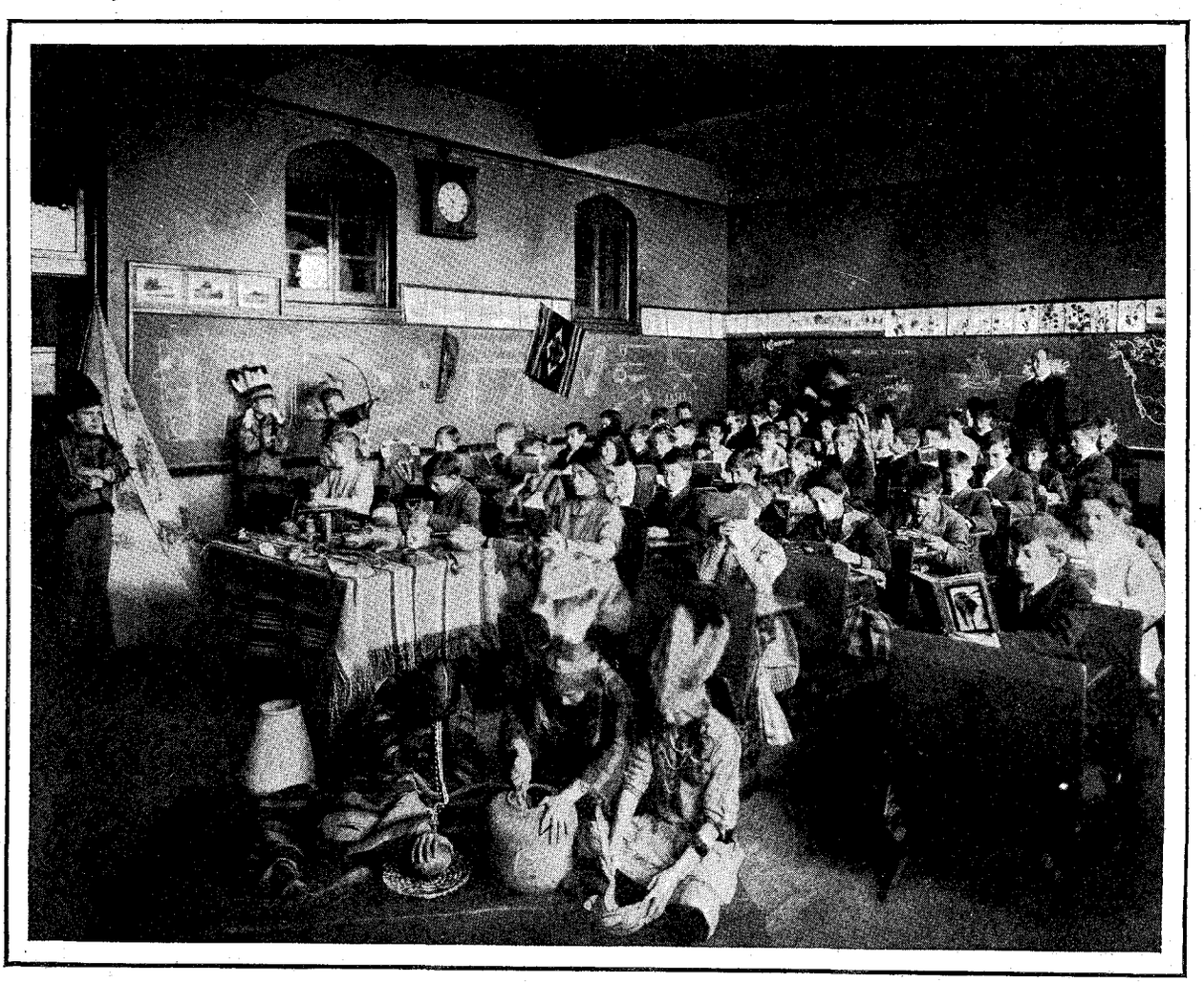
And if Dr. Atwood was correct as regards America, doesn't the same truth apply to every civilized country? If so, isn't the prevention of war—the "peaceful existence" of every nation—largely in the hands of the public schools? For, continuing, he said: "In order to train our judgment we must revise our methods of teaching geography."

Well, we are revising them here and there throughout the country, and in the very direction desired by Clark University. I invite you to let me whisk you back and forth between two American cities and your own school days for a few minutes, without stopping to discuss any jog that has been given to "jography" in between. I have selected but two cities, because that is about all we have time for.

The first contrast is between definitions.

Back-in-your-day: "Geography is the science which treats of the world and its inhabitants; a description of the earth, or a portion of the earth, including its structure, features, products, political divisions, and the people by whom it is inhabited." Remember seeing that, or something like it, in the front of your old green-covered "jography"?

To-day: "Geography is the study of the world as the home of man. It carries us over every land and sea; unfolds to us the wonders of nature, the distri-



NEITHER PLAY NOR A PLAY, BUT SERIOUS STUDY OF A GEOGRAPHY LESSON IN A ST. LOUIS PUBLIC SCHOOL CLASSROOM

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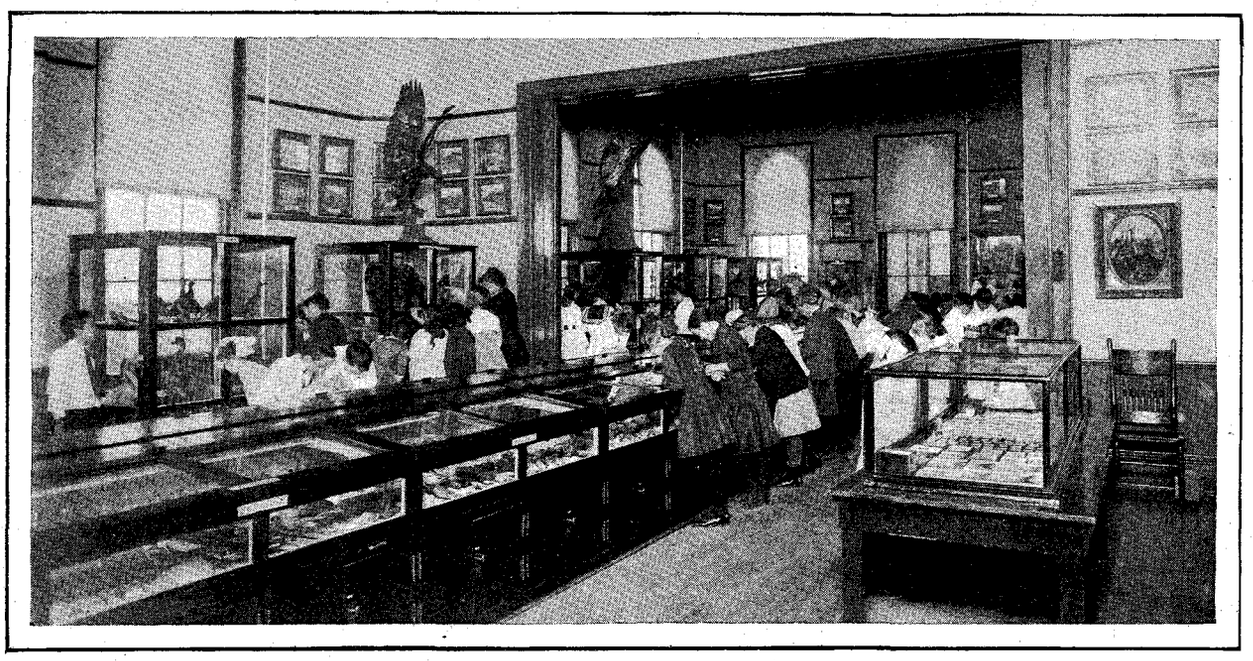

ONE FLOOR OF THE EDUCATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE ST. LOUIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS IS DEVOTED TO THE EXHIBITION OF OBJECTS NOT EASILY TRANSPORTABLE, AND TEACHERS AND CLASSES COMPLETE THEIR CLASSROOM WORK BY A STUDY OF THESE OBJECTS WHEN APPLICABLE TO THE WEEK'S LESSON

bution of plants and animals, the influence of climate, the upward struggle and final supremacy of man. It shows man in the twentieth century as the master of environment and no longer its slave. Geography underlies all history, and is the foundation on which all commercial studies must be built. It teaches us the interrelation and interdependence of nations. It engenders a sympathetic understanding of the peoples differing from us in race, customs, ideals, and modes of living. It is fundamental to the formulating of lasting international policies that spell world peace."

Even if you wear glasses you can't see any life in the first definition; whereas, if you have only one eye you can see that the second has pep, kick, hootch in it. It makes geography a serial story, a—well, so much for that.

Contrast number two:

When a St. Louis school-child has to do "home work" in "jography," he straps to his "story-of-the-world-as-the-home-of-man" a number of photographs, a stereoscope with some views, a stereopticon with colored slides, a wall chart, a map, an illustrated book on the subject of the lesson, steamship time-tables and descriptive folders, costumed manikins of the people of the country, some trays containing specimens of fabrics, food products, things in daily use by the people, specimens of strange natural products—and what else he might stow aboard you could scarcely make out, but there would be considerable.

You doubt me? Well, at any rate, if that is not a literal picture, then home work must be very tame compared with the study of the lesson in class, for it is a true list, and still only partial, of the materials used in St. Louis schools to "make children learn their lessons." The Board of Education maintains a school museum to supply its schools with materials for illustrating lessons in geography, history, nature study, and reading. Every teacher in the one hundred and twenty-five schools orders and receives from the museum the required material for each week's lesson. Each school also is equipped with a motion-picture outfit.

We happen to be looking in on a class studying Mexico. A boy wears a fibrous garment. Distributed among the desks are objects and pictures showing the source of the raw material and the process of manufacture. All conditions surrounding the growth and gathering and working up of this material are studied. The class of people who wear this garment, why they wear it, and how they get their living are studied. The students live in Mexico for a little while each day. They handle the household and field utensils of the natives. They journey through their country and learn their economic and industrial and domestic and political problems almost at first hand.

Yes, the class studies latitude and longitude, climate and names of rivers and mountains. How much besides the latter, and from what materials did you study about Mexico back-in-your-day? So much for the second contrast.

Contrast number three:

I am writing only the to-day part of this story, remember. You must supply the back-in-your-day part, and against that memory of the "jography" class and the loyal chum who prompted you on the answers consider how geography is taught in the elementary school of the University of Chicago, comprising all grades of public school work.

Said the teacher back-in-your-day, "Class, bound Hungary." And glibly, unfeelingly, and *unknowingly* in chorus you bound Hungary hand and foot, "on the northwest by Prussia, on the north by Poland, on the east by Russia, on the south by Turkey, and on the west by Austria." So there was Hungary bound (limited, terminated, circumscribed, confined, barred, and separated) from the rest of the world by all these other walled-in countries standing immovable on their allotted splotches of color. There's a psychological, a sociological impression to make upon plastic minds of future voters and statesmen!

To-day in the Elementary School of the University of Chicago it would not be surprising to hear some young student recite: "Hungary is *neighbored* on the north," etc., at least that could follow as a corollary of the spirit of the instruction given. For these future teachers of future generations study, not so much to learn how peoples differ, as how their differences in occupation, industry, talent, may contribute to the welfare of all races in "the home of man," the earth. They do not learn to define national walls, but to find gates through them.

In these classes, upward from the kindergarten, where mere tots construct cardboard models of different kinds of communities in order to see how other people live, students are trained to seek the everlasting "why" behind the national and racial "peculiarities" of their fellow-men. They discover that the physical characteristics of a country, and not innate cussedness, cause most of the differences that exist among peoples in respect of domestic customs and points of view. They discover connecting links of international relationships while seeking to find what and how each nation contributes to every other nation's needs.

From the fourth grade up students show skill in organizing the geographic factors that control the manner of life in a country and that explain why the

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people's ambitions are like or unlike those of other countries. "Where are the British Isles *with reference to* Europe?" "How does their location aid or hinder commerce with other nations?" "From which countries must their population secure what they cannot themselves produce?"

The problems of nations are studied from *their* point of view. "How have the mountains of Norway determined the destinies of that country?" "What geographical conditions prevent Spain from being a leading nation of Europe?" "What are the difficulties in transportation in Italy?" "Why has Belgium become 'the workshop of Europe'?"

With text-books and sand-maps and the actual, tangible things of the countries, supplemented by regular visits to the great exhibits of the Field Museum, these students learn the life of the peoples of the world. That is their geography.

And the aim? It is expressly declared to be "to show . . . something of the interrelation and interdependence of nations. To engender a sympathetic understanding of the peoples differing from us in race, customs, ideals, and modes of living. To develop an appreciation of fellow-lands and fellow-peoples. . . . To understand the importance of having a knowledge of geographic principles in interpreting present-day affairs. To bring home to the child his coming responsibility in helping to decide international questions and to lay a foundation for the achievement of ideal relationships among nations."

Contrast number four:

You will find this contrast woven in the thoughts of Dr. Atwood upon the need of broader and deeper geographic knowledge, as expressed in his announcement of the plans of Clark University. In effect he said:

We have neglected to develop the study of geography in this country. As a consequence, we are an illiterate people as respects the economic conditions of our own and other lands. We do not as citizens know how to vote intelligently on questions of international policy, and yet such questions are brought before us almost every day in newspapers, and we may expect them to be brought before us in every National election.

Mankind has passed through the period of expansion, and is now facing a period of restrictional evolution, in which it will be necessary to study the better use of all natural resources and to promote more favorable conditions for the exchange of commodities. Scientific teaching of geography will enable us to establish new methods for solving international problems, in place of the methods recently relied on—the result of lack of geographical knowledge.

We, as a nation, have reached the stage of development when our further growth, perhaps our peaceful existence, depends upon our judgment in dealing with the other peoples of the world.

Contrast number five:

All of this part of the story you must supply, if you wish to read it. It will consist of conditions existing in your own schools in the teaching of geography to-day as compared with the needs of the case as stated by the President of Clark University.

BOLSHEVISM IN EDUCATION

BY JAMES ANNAN AYERS

THE Bolsheviki in Russia overturned the existing order of things and went to the opposite extreme. Instead of seeking to curb the evils which necessarily arise in any long-continued rule or method, to work from the inside in patience and earnestness, they attempted new theories, with the expectation that anything new and radical would be better than the old and conservative.

That hope is not confined to Russia, nor to the present time, nor to politics. In religion, in economics, in education, there has always been the struggle between those who have not and are naturally dissatisfied and those who have and who wish no new partners in their close corporations, and there always will be that struggle so long as human nature is human nature untouched by love of fellow-man. But revolutions, whether they be called Bolshevism or any other ephemeral name, must revolve slowly or they often defeat the very purpose of their origin and bring about worse evils than those of the old régime. The will of a revolutionary majority is not always sane.

The secondary, or high, schools of the United States are the outgrowth of the old academies, which were primarily higher institutions of learning for the communities in which they were located. Secondarily they were preparatory schools for colleges. They were presided over by men who could, and did, prepare boys in Latin and Greek for college, and whose aim was to induce as many as possible to go. But the proportion was always small, save in the strictly preparatory schools that were feeders for certain colleges, because Latin and Greek and a college education were necessary only for ministers and teachers. A college course was not essential to any other profession and was considered a detriment in business. So the real aim of these old academies was the erection of a low but solid superstructure upon the foundation of the district school. Mathematics was the principal subject in the curriculum. There was higher arithmetic, with problems in mensuration and problems of interest, of practical benefit to the farmer's boy or to the grocer's clerk; there was algebra to develop pure reason and geometry to enable the pupil to visualize. The propositions in geometry he had to memorize, and foolishly, perhaps, even their number in the book. Next in importance was grammar—not predigested breakfast-food stuff, but solid, tiresome, dull, agonizing rules and conjugations and parsing. When the boy got through these, he was older than the present school generation; but he could think with conviction, and not fearsomely, as if just beginning his mental steps. Mental science and moral science each had a place in the curriculum. Over the thoughts of great men the boys pondered and stumbled haltingly in their groping for the applications of life. Perhaps they did not get very far, but so far as they went they thought. And they developed a power and an independence by debates—debates at which we would smile now, doubtless, but debates full of enthusiasm and fighting spirit. In these academies occurred the mental birth of the thinking nucleus of communities. Many an inglorious Milton and embryonic Newton or local Demosthenes lie buried in unknown churchyards. These academies were hard schools for the best and no refuge for the incompetent and lazy. The culling-out process began in the entering class, and did not cease during the entire course. If a subject was not mastered by a pupil, it was repeated or the pupil was dropped.

That was a hardship to the pride of many, and the academy began to be called the rich man's school. Asseverations of that kind, however unjust, if repeated often enough, serve their purpose. So the close corporations of trustees gave way gradually to elected officials, and public high schools came into being. From the selection of representative men to the election of ward politicians, intellectual Bolsheviki, to school boards was a fairly rapid degeneration. As a result, the independent and intensely respected schoolmaster, who loved thoroughness as he loved honor, gradually passed out of existence. There were exceptions, both as to school boards and schoolmen, but in the main the pressure to relax the rigidity of the work was too great to be resisted. Then the colleges began to complain of the high school product. To meet that, additional courses were started in the high school for those who did not intend to go to college—courses which were frankly weaker—and the college entrance course was stiffened.

For a while that served, but even the intellectual Bolsheviki began to realize

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that it hardly paid to keep a large number in the high school, idling or marking time, simply for the doubtful honor of a diploma. Something of practical value should be given to the mental idler, and into existence sprang the vocational high school, which, as a rule, is neither vocational nor high. I am making a statement which is borne out repeatedly by the facts when I say that the girl in such a school takes dressmaking one or two hours a week, and at the end of a year receives so many counts toward her diploma; the boy goes to the machine shop for a like period of time, and also receives so many counts toward his diploma. Is the girl a dressmaker? By no means. The most that is claimed is that she has learned the principles which her grandmother knew at twelve years of age without going to school. Can she make a dress? Hardly, although occasionally she does make one at the direction and under the constant supervision of her teacher. She does make an apron to keep her frock clean. Is the boy a mechanic? Not so that you could notice it, although he is surrounded by expensive apparatus. "He knows principles," we are told. Personally I rather doubt that, for the thorough understanding of the principles of mechanics is only for those who have served hard terms of apprenticeship or for those who have mastered the mathematics of physics.

What is true of dressmaking and manual training is true of other branches. A smattering of a large number is taught, but the child is as incompetent as his father, who idled four years in the classical school. The object of the vocational work done is not a vocation, but counts for graduation. The expensive plant has done little or nothing for the child that is good. On the contrary, it has taught him to place a premium upon a smattering in many things rather than upon a thorough understanding of a few. It has weakened his mental powers not only, but his morals as well, for, while it wrongly boasts of teaching principles, it fails in teaching the greatest moral principle of all—that only through hard work and self-sacrifice and thoroughness can any lasting benefit be derived. The very principle insisted upon in basket-ball or football or baseball—viz., drill, drill, drill, on fundamentals—is the last thing thought of apparently in the mental gymnasium. No one raises the foolish objection of "lack of time" on the athletic field. It must be done to insure success. Is the mind of less importance than the body? Can it be insulted with greater impunity?

As the vocational high school has not proved a panacea for educational ills which seem to increase rather than diminish, the elementary school has become the field for experiments. Quite naturally the elementary school must keep pace with the high school. If the course of study in the latter be enriched by many new subjects, the former should receive proportionate attention. And, bless my heart, it did! If it no longer gave thorough preparation for the high school, it added cooking and sewing and manual training and basketry and printing and first-year science, among other things. But the minds of boys and girls are not so very different from milk-cans. You can pour just so much in, and if you are determined to fill them half full of water they will not be full of milk. So we dropped or discouraged grammar and substituted "oral English," which has as many definitions as "freedom of the seas." Drill in spelling became old-fashioned. It took too much time and was unnecessary except for stenographers; and those who wished to be stenographers could take it up in the vocational high school. Most of them, apparently, laid it down again very quickly. A few extremists—Lenines in the educational field—urged the death of advanced arithmetic and such *bourgeois* subjects, and in almost the same breath insisted upon those youngsters studying European history in order to understand the origin of America and its ideals.

Then the "Gary system" came as a fitting climax to this orgy, with its rapid shift from study to play, to lecture, to pupil teaching. I remember, when visiting one Gary school in a large city, having the principal show me with pride the varied activities of the pupils ("activities" is right, I think). He pointed out a room where the boys were taught "the principles of electricity" two hours a week for a period of ten weeks. I asked him the practical benefit, for these schools are supposed to be practical, and he replied that the boys should be able to install an electric bell system in a house, or at least to repair a system that was out of order, and he seemed rather put out when I inquired if he did not think twenty hours was a long time in which to teach a boy how to replace a battery. Perhaps my question was flippant, but the work in that school seemed to warrant a flippant question. If the pupils really mastered principles, twenty hours was an extremely short time. Even Edison has not finished yet. If they could only string a wire or replace a battery, it was a waste of time with a loss of mental and of moral fiber. The fact that in a school of that type there is a constant movement of classes from class-room to gymnasium, to auditorium, to playground, to class-room again, with the added stir of X going home and Y coming in, does not mean necessarily either concentration or work. It does mean activity. So does anarchy. One can get the same amount of activity and lack of concentration in a monkey-infested forest.

The whole idea at present in some minds seems to be to hold the interest of the child, not because of the child, but because of his ballot-holding and office-holding father, and it may not be until the child himself becomes a parent and has seen the utter worthlessness of it all that he will highly resolve that his sacrifice shall not be in vain and that his children shall not be pampered. Better a little severity with its hardships than to have hundreds of pupils entering high school with a choice collection of ill-digested facts and a dense ignorance of fundamental things, of which the following is a fair example: "'The boy running' is a sentence. 'The' is the subject, 'boy' the predicate."

It is impossible to cure Bolshevism in education by inventing new titles or names. The Montessori method, the Gary system, the junior high school, merely put off the day of reckoning by diverting men's minds from the real source of trouble. If it were possible, we could add some more terms to create interest or to cater to vanity, like grammar-high or elementary college. New names and new buildings will divert for a time only.

The cure for Bolshevism in education lies in education, not in a smattering of subjects that follow, one after the other, in kaleidoscopic fashion. The average normally healthy child of thirteen is not able to do much more than to learn arithmetic, spelling, geography, United States history, and grammar (*grammar*, not oral English). That little extra should be given to the principles and ideals of his Government, which gives him an education, and to the foundation principles of ethics; for in a republic every man *is* his brother's keeper. We are beginning to realize the danger of ignoring that fact.

When the child has been graduated from the elementary school, let him elect to go either to the high school, which will merely broaden and deepen and strengthen a foundation for higher learning, or to a public trade school where the aim will not be a diploma but a real preparation for life, a preparation that may take one year or six, depending upon the course pursued and the ability of the pupil. That preparation will be just as thorough as a course in the best high schools, and more thorough than in most. It may be just as cultural as the combined course of high school and college.

Would the girl become a designer of dresses? She would take mathematics through geometry, mechanical drawing, painting, or at least the study of colors, pictorial drawing, chemistry to know dyes and textiles, English to appear well in her business, French, possibly, to learn the history of design. To become a designer she would become versed in such subjects as would make her a well-rounded woman as well as an expert in her line. Would she become a private secretary? In addition to the study of the mechanical duties of such position she would study English, other literatures than her own, history, business procedure, the principles of business law, know how to appear, and, if possible, be fluent in one foreign language. The more culture she could absorb while studying the duties of a secretary, the more practical and valuable she would be. Would the boy become a mechanic?

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He would have mathematics through spherical trigonometry, the physics and the chemistry which are taught in college, metallurgy, and English.

Public trade schools that stood for something real and turned out experts—not cheap help—would draw from the present high schools those whose taste does not incline them to a higher cultural life or whose means are such that each step must be a distinct preparation for a wage-earner, and the high schools could immediately cease to cater to incompetence or laziness and could strengthen their teaching. The purpose of education would be equally served, only in different ways, in both schools. In the trade school the child will necessarily see the reason for each step of his progress; he is adding completed room after completed room to his mental house as he needs it. In the high school he is digging a deep foundation for a structure he cannot see and may not have planned. What he does he must do on faith for a time. That is why so many high school pupils at present lose interest and refuse to work. "They are from Missouri." They wish to be shown.

I imagine that both trade school and high school plus college would achieve the same result intellectually and culturally. Certainly the trade school would not suffer in comparison from the intellectual standpoint. They would deal with the same quality of minds, albeit of different types.

The restless period in educational ideals and purposes will pass just as it will pass in political life. Eventually the radical element will become conservative for a time. How long that time will be in school affairs will depend upon school executives rather than teachers. Teachers can be trusted as a rule to be strict and to be thorough. Executives can be trusted to listen to the applause of the gallery and to worship at the shrine of some new *ism*. That sounds brutal, but our present method of popular government and constant change does not create strong backbones. It weakens them. And what shall it profit a school superintendent to have a strong backbone and no job, especially when he has given hostages to fortune in the shape of wife and children? So he yields to the Bolshevist pressure and waxes enthusiastic over each new fad, and, if he be astute, places the psychology of his community before the needs of his pupils. A long term for both superintendent and board of education would create independence and be the means of achieving results.

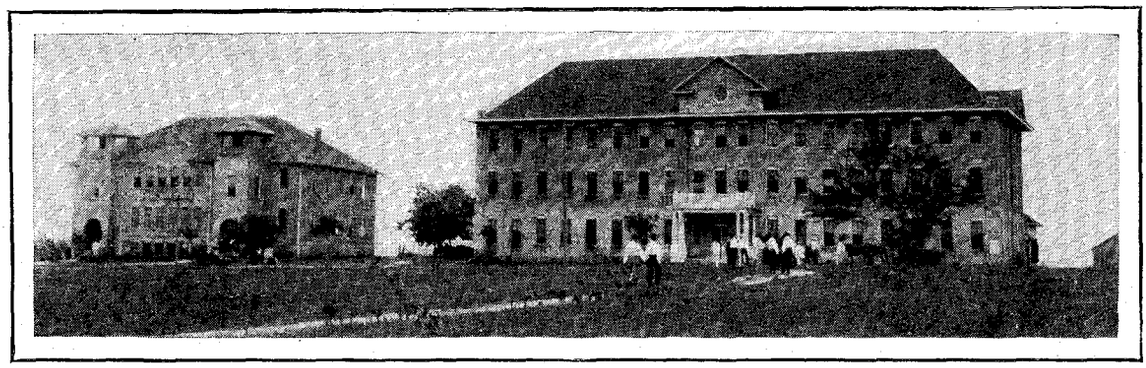
Just as we must modify some of our ideas in political life in order to have extended and well-thought-out plans of economical government and international relations, so we must modify some of our notions of elections in educational matters if we would look far in the future for results that will stand common-sense tests. We ourselves are Bolsheviki in spirit unless for our children as well as for our neighbors' children we insist upon thoroughness.

PEARL RIVER

AN EDUCATIONAL IDEA IN ACTION

BY WALLACE BUTTRICK

PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD



ONE OF THE HOMES OF THE PEARL RIVER IDEA

This is the Pearl River County Agricultural High School, at Poplarville, Mississippi. The boys' residence is at the right; the school building, at the left. The girls' residence is not shown in this picture

ONE of the living educational questions of the present day is how to provide good schools for people who live in the open country. Instead of discussing this in a theoretical way, let us tell the story of how one county did the job.

Pearl River County, Mississippi, is about forty miles from the Gulf of Mexico on the border of Louisiana. The population is made up almost exclusively of small farmers. The county is 38 miles long and 28 miles wide. Its population in 1910 was 10,593. The largest town, Poplarville, had 1,272 people. The New Orleans and Northeastern Railway crosses the county from southwest to northeast.

In 1911 there were 86 one-room schoolhouses in the county. At present there are 23 consolidated schools with fine buildings—15 frame, 6 brick, 2 concrete. There are 9 homes for teachers and new ones in process; there are 10 special Home Science buildings, with new ones in process; there is a full supply of wagons for the transportation of pupils. At every school there are ample playgrounds with equipment for basket-ball, baseball, football, etc. On visiting the schools, I found the utmost enthusiasm on the part of the pupils, with a sort of joy that was not less than pathetic, as they told me of the contrast between the dullness of the old days and the joy of the new.

The county organization consists of a County Superintendent of Education, a County School Supervisor and Secretary, a County Health Officer, a County Farm Demonstrator, a County Home Science Superintendent and Secretary. A Summer Folk School is maintained which a large number of adult persons attend, with special classes for teachers and for boys and girls.

There is a County Agricultural High School located at Poplarville. It has three substantial brick buildings, a residence for girls, a residence for boys, and a commodious, well-equipped school building. There is a farm of seventy-two acres with a barn, a cow stable, a piggery, a hennery, corn houses, etc. The farm is cultivated by the boys, all of whom must work a certain number of hours a week; all may work more hours and receive pay for the extra time. The domestic phases of the work are done by the girls, all of whom are required to do a certain amount of work and may do extra work for pay. The farm is cultivated at a profit. It furnishes the school with all its vegetables, milk, eggs, and meat. The girls put up large quantities of vegetables and fruits

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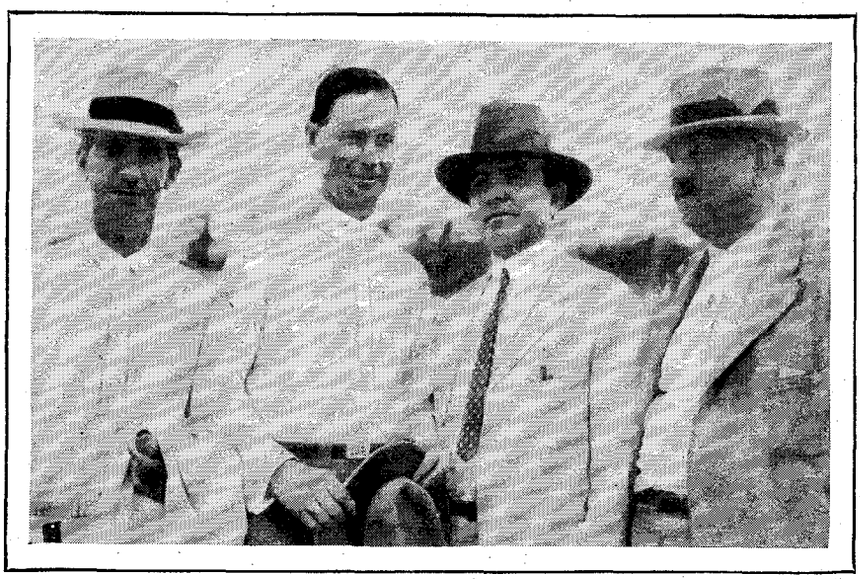

LEADING ADMINISTRATORS OF THE PEARL RIVER IDEA

From left to right: Professor Jacobs, the Principal of the Agricultural High School; Leopold Locke, Superintendent of Schools; Dr. W. S. Leathers, Health Commissioner; H. L. Whitfield, President of the Columbus Normal School. These rural leaders of rural education are putting into action a declaration of independence of inappropriate city traditions

in cans, which serve the dining-room during the winter. Winter gardens are also maintained, so that the students have fresh vegetables the year around.

Pupils who graduate from the consolidated schools come to the County Agricultural High School. Some of the consolidated schools add one or two years of high school work, but the main high school work of the county is done by the County Agricultural High School, at Poplarville.

This school functions throughout the entire county because the special officers above enumerated make their headquarters at this school and their work radiates from it. Mr. Jacobs, the principal of the Agricultural High School, knows the whole county, as indeed do all of the teachers, for they visit the consolidated schools, co-operate in their work, and become acquainted with the people through community schools, which are held from time to time and which are attended in large numbers by the parents.

I visited some of these schools one day and spent some hours at the County Agricultural High School. There I met a woman who was teacher of the domestic arts. She told me of the beginnings of her work. She came to her task after graduation from the excellent State College for Women at Columbus and after a year's work at Teachers College in New York. On arrival, she asked herself: "What good will it do the people of this county if I simply teach here at this school the things which I have learned at the two excellent institutions where I got my own training? I must first know Pearl River County." She then secured a leave of absence in order that she might live in the county, boarding around for some months. She thus became acquainted with the people and learned the exact condition of domestic arts in the county. Among other things, she learned that there was great infant mortality, that people who were ill suffered more from the discomforts of the sick-room than from the disease, that wells were ill located, that food was limited in variety and not always cooked in such a way as to conduce to good health. By going about she gained the confidence of the people, the most difficult thing being that of convincing mothers that she could teach them anything about the care of babies. Finally, she found a mother ill of tuberculosis with a young babe in her arms. After caring for the mother, screening the windows, showing how to protect the family against infection, providing a better bed, and prescribing a diet, she said, "May I have the baby?" And the mother with great joy gave her babe into her care. She brought this child to school, where she taught her class of forty girls how to wash and dress the baby, how to prepare its food, how to care for its little ailments, and how to love it. The thing was spectacular and attracted attention all over the county, for the baby became strong and lusty. On Saturday afternoons mothers came from all over the county for counsel and advice. The teacher, knowing her own limitations, secured on certain Saturday afternoons the presence of a trained child doctor who conducted at Poplarville a clinic for mothers and babies. As a result of the success of this venture, the advice of this teacher and of other teachers regarding rural life was sought by people throughout the county, so that, as the State Superintendent says, "the school is more and more becoming a laboratory for solving all community problems."

A hospital bed was set up at the school and the girls were taught how to make a bed with the patient in it, how to assist in the offices of nature, how to prepare and serve food for invalids, and

EXERCISING THE PEARL RIVER EDUCATIONAL IDEA IN JUDGING POULTRY

A HOME SCIENCE BUILDING IN THE OPEN COUNTRY

This building, at Derby, Mississippi, is one of ten such special Home Science Buildings in Pearl River County

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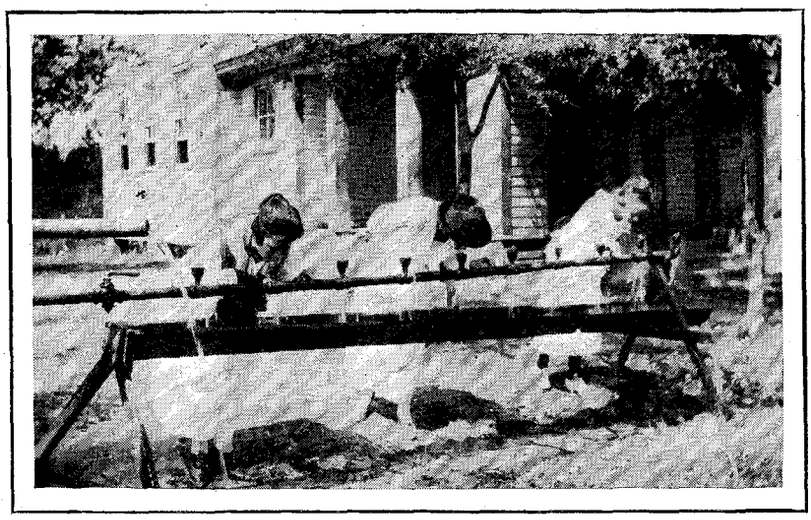
in general how to make a sick person comfortable. As a result, many such beds have been set up in the county, so that when a person is ill a properly sterilized hospital bed can be brought to the house for the care and comfort of the patient.

The farm demonstration work with the work of the boys' and girls' clubs is all hooked up with these consolidated schools and the County Agricultural High School. The same is true of the work of the County Health Officer, who later came to promote good health in the county, and of the County Superintendent of Home Science, who still later was brought into the field.

It should be noted that all of this has been done by the people themselves, with only very little initial monetary assistance from without. The State Superintendent, the State High School Agent, and the State Rural School Agent co-operated with the county officials and with the people in order to bring about this splendid condition of things.

This corn bears not only ears, but also the Pearl River Educational Idea besides. The boy is a member of the Corn Club and is proud of his "demonstration acre." Some fathers are opposed to the schools until their children bring them around in this way. And when the Pearl River Educational Idea sprouts it grows

Just how was this done? First of all, there was a survey of the county, so that consolidated schoolhouses might be located in such a way as to benefit the largest number. One of the faults in consolidation in many places is that a few favorable districts get together, leaving those that are left out in worse state than before. This was followed by an attempt to secure consolidation in one of these districts. There were five annual elections before the first was consolidated. After that had been accomplished and the success of the enterprise demonstrated, others rapidly fell in line so than in four years more, instead of 86 one-room schoolhouses, there were 23 consolidated schools.



THE PEARL RIVER IDEA INCLUDES RURAL HYGIENE

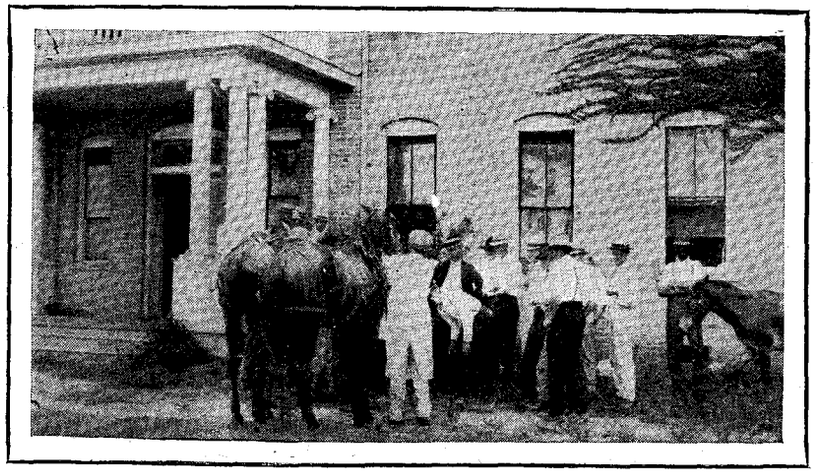
A sanitary drinking fountain at the Buck Branch Consolidated School—one of the twenty-three Consolidated Schools of the county

This demonstration has had a widespread influence throughout the State, so that forty other counties have accomplished substantially the same thing with consolidated schools, county agricultural high schools, etc. It will be noted that the beginning was small. The officers of the State did not attempt to cover the whole State in their first campaign. They selected one county, with the since justified expectation that a job well done there would rapidly influence the rest of the State to do the same.

Pearl River County has a lesson to teach which even the Great Empire State could afford to learn. In the New York "Times" of August 1, 1921, it is stated that there are 8,600 single-room schools in New York State, in 3,018 of which there are less than ten pupils each. The State Department of Education has long been interested in this matter, but it has been impossible so to change the laws of the State as to make consolidation possible. An act was once passed, but the next year it was repealed.

What is needed is a campaign of agitation on this question and a careful study and report on certain selected territorial units. It is idle to pass legislation which puts the power of consolidation in the hands of officials. People resent that. The people themselves must do this thing. An enabling act would seem to be the first step, to be followed by the selection of one territorial unit where the people themselves would decide upon consolidation. This would serve as a demonstration which, when successful, others would copy.

It seems a pity that New York State does not have the county unit in educational administration, with county superintendents, county supervising teachers, and county supervisors of special subjects, such as home-making, agriculture, public health and hygiene, play and games, etc. Nothing can be less interesting to child and teacher than a school of ten pupils, and one of twenty is but little less bad. The work of the special committee referred to in the "Times" editorial should attract widespread interest, for it is the first sign of hope for the children who live in the open country of New York State.



A VETERINARY CLINIC AT THE FOLK SUMMER SCHOOL, PEARL RIVER COUNTY

At this Folk School adults attend. There are special classes for teachers, and for boys a d girls. This veterinary clinic is conducted by Dr. Ranck, of the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College

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THE BOOK TABLE

CREATIVE ART IN FICTION

WHEN we see a portrait by Sargent, we know that he is trying to do something more than to make a likeness or to prove that his technique is marvelous. When we see a landscape by Inness or Rousseau, we know that it is not merely a pretty picture. In both cases there is a conscious effort of art to make a definite impression—in the first case, of the character behind the face; in the second, of a mood of nature, placid or terrible. So in fiction, the best work is neither done altogether in the spirit of art for art's sake nor in the sole aim of pleasing, but with the intent of producing a clear and deep-lying impression of human nature. The old rules of the unities of the drama—time, place, and plot—have given way to the single unity of art purpose. The novelist may be discursive or he may be dramatic and compressed; he may revel in humor or be stern and saturnine; he may follow his bent as to sub-plot, incident, and minor characters; he may seek his material in life's refuse heaps or in the glories of the imagination. It is all one, if only he has truly created; if he has used fiction just as the painter and the dramatist of genius have done from time immemorial.

This is why some novels that are not remarkably entertaining or emotional or exciting stay in one's mind hauntingly—why "John Inglesant," say, or "Anna Karénina" or "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" or "Peter Ibbetson" recur in thought years after stories that at first reading seemed tremendously exciting are dim. There has been the right combination of art purpose and art production—the unity of creative design.

Three new books—American, English, and Norwegian, respectively—have just this singleness of art purpose; not moral purpose, if you please, for the authors are not trying to teach, but to create. They are not monumentally great books, but they are acutely seen etchings. Their definitely conceived characters move under specially chosen environments and respond in just the inevitable way that fits the pressure of fate and environment.

With such a book it is folly to ask, What is the moral? The author would reply: The moral be hanged; I have not made angels as Milton did, nor monsters as Frankenstein did; I have made men and women, and they have acted as they had to act. I am satisfied; I am an artist of the pen, not a preacher; I am a realist, not a materialist. But he admits, or should admit, that there is reality of feeling and imagination as well as reality in sordidness.

In Mr. Booth Tarkington's "Alice Adams"[1] one must not jump from the title to a conclusion that Alice is the one person of interest. It is true that action and situation center about her, but there are at least three characters that come out more clearly—her mother, fanatically, remorselessly, and consciencelessly driven by the desire that Alice should have social opportunities; her father, weak and unambitious, a business failure, led into wrong and mean actions by his wife's insistence; and his employer, hard as nails when an attempt is made to get the best of him, but kindly and generous when he has smashed the father's foolish attempt to get rich unfairly. Alice herself is a bit too glib and facile in her attempts to pose as a society girl when every one knows that she is barely hanging on to the edge of things.

What Mr. Tarkington has done in this story with admirable skill is to offer a closely wrought study of one phase of small-town life, thus making a companion piece to his "The Magnificent Ambersons." Here the town and neighborhood have grown away from the Adams family. Other families have prospered; the boys and girls with whom Alice and her brother used to play have gone to college, belong to country clubs, give entertainments, meet cultured and attractive friends; the Adams family has the income it had years ago, its domestic atmosphere is old-fashioned, the parents are ignorant and crude, the children are barely tolerated or patronized. So the Adams boy becomes a "tough guy" and is proud of it, while Alice makes a bold struggle for a fine marriage only to meet humiliating failure and to join (cheerfully, one is glad to add) the ranks of the workers; and the mother opens a boarding-house.

There is something of the grim and tragic about the little family thus dropped out of their town's prosperity. The book is by no means as amusing as many of the author's other stories. But it is decidedly a clear-cut depiction of a phase of American life; it creates a natural and moving situation, and its characters are all alive.

Mr. Swinnerton in his "Coquette"[2] has fulfilled the promise of his "Nocturne." In a remote way there is a resemblance between his Sally and Mr. Tarkington's Alice, for both are struggling against odds to get what they want. Sally is a little brat in London's East End. Her drunken father is killed, her mother is weak and foolish, but Sally fends for herself. She is totally selfish. She is out for money and what it will bring. Up to a certain point her cleverness carries her, but, audacious as she is, her power to succeed collapses when she tries to retain her passion for the typical London stolid brute whose mistress she has become and at the same time be the wife of a weakling son of the dressmaker who employs her. Violence, despair, and death end the impossible situation.

As is evident, "Coquette" is not a pleasant story; its realism is repellent and at times almost intolerable. What, then, makes it in the practically unanimous opinion of English and American reviewers an extraordinary novel? It is simply the vitality and actuality of Sally. As one reviewer says, Sally "is not studied with a cold, omniscient wisdom, as a bug under a glass, but as *the person* that she felt herself to be and as the person that the novelist thought her to be." In other words, she is a created thing, not a dummy or type. She is as much alive as Thackeray's Becky Sharp. Dickens never drew London characters more distinct than

[1] Alice Adams. By Booth Tarkington. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.75.

[2] Coquette. By Frank Swinnerton. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.90.

Courtesy of George H. Doran Company
FRANK SWINNERTON

(C) Marceau
BOOTH TARKINGTON

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the people of Sally's street and shop mates.

Mr. Swinnerton is not emotional or sentimental, and he cares little whether his readers are shocked or not. He is bent on getting the lines of his picture true to nature and life. Whether we like the picture or approve its characters is to him a minor matter. In Sally neglect, ignorance, ambition, arrogance, lack of any moral sense, combine to make a strange little scamp, not lovable or admirable, but singularly natural and consistent.

"Shallow Soil"[3] was written long before Knut Hamsun's "Growth of the Soil." It probably will rank next to that work, for it seems to go deeper into human nature and character than "Hunger" and to be simpler and clearer of literary fog than "Pan." Its subject is that epoch (or episode) in Norwegian development when the success of its dramatists and poets had gone to the nation's head, so to speak—when plain commercial honor and political integrity were despised by the new temperamental aristocracy. As a Norwegian critic remarks, it not only gives the "best description available of life in Christiania toward the close of the century," but it is "a book of exquisite lyric beauty, of masterly psychology, and finished in artistic form, rich in idea and life."

The true-heartedness and manliness of the merchant who sees his fiancée lured away from him is admirably contrasted with the tempter, a despicable poet of genius but of no honor, a patronizer of those he is not fit to shake by the hand, a sycophant and a vainglorious egotist. The novel appeals honestly but not sentimentally to one's sympathy. It has not only good art, but fine human feeling.

A romance quite unlike these three modernistic examples of fiction writing is Mr. Sabatini's "Scaramouche."[4] This is a tale of the early days of the French Revolution. It has dash, action, and incident. Withal it is excellently written. The author is careful to make history his background only and to keep his characters well to the front. His André Louis Moreau is all the better for not being a perfect person. Indeed, he plunges into the fight against the nobles not from any sympathy with republicanism but because one noble (who, by the way, turns out to be his own father) has killed his dearest friend. Once in the struggle, his fervid oratory creates such a sensation that he has to flee for his life. He becomes a wandering actor with one of those odd companies of dramatic improvisators still extant in France at that time, and thus he gets his nickname "Scaramouche." Later he becomes a pupil of a famous fencing master, so that when he is elected to the French Assembly his skill in the duel is his greatest asset.

The tale is simply alive with incident. It is as brilliant a specimen as we have had for years of the "sword and cloak" fiction. It will appeal to those readers who sometimes lament that they cannot longer find books of the type the elder Dumas poured forth so brilliantly.

R. D. TOWNSEND.

[3] Shallow Soil. By Knut Hamsun. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. $2.

[4] Scaramouche. By Rafael Sabatini. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.

Courtesy of Houghton Mifflin Company

RAFAEL SABATINI

THE NEW BOOKS

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

EVOLUTION OF THE BUDGET IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1691-1919. By Luther H. Gulick. (Special Studies in Administration.) The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

Mr. Gulick's scholarly volume records the events leading up to the present budget system in Massachusetts. At this time, when National budget reform is a household word, the publication of this book is distinctly timely.

WAR BOOKS

SEABORNE TRADE. (History of the Great War Based on Official Documents.) Vol. I. By C. Ernest Fayle. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $7.50.

This book, the first of a series of three volumes, constitutes a section of the "History of the Great War" prepared in England by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence. As a contribution to history it marks a new departure in that it is purely a study of the effect of naval operations on trade. Although the attack and defense of sea-borne commerce has in every war been one of the primary objects of naval effort, in the Great War the ability to maintain the uninterrupted flow of both import and export trade was the index of success or failure, especially in the case of Great Britain.

Mr. Fayle gives us a brilliant study, based to a very large extent on unpublished material in the files of the British Admiralty, Board of Trade, Ministry of Shipping, and various intelligence sections, of the effect of naval activity on the flow of sea-borne trade. He traces the effect of Germany's attack on Allied commerce during the period when that attack was carried on chiefly by cruisers in remote waters, in losses of ships and cargoes, delay and dislocation of commerce, and analyzes its effect in shortage of supplies and rising prices. A detailed account is given of the effect on world commerce of Great Britain's activities in naval protection and in the various measures, such as the state insurance scheme, which tended toward the maintenance of the necessary import trade.

BIOGRAPHY

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE EMPIRE. By the Marquise de la Tour du Pin. Edited and Translated by Walter Geer. Brentano's, New York. $5.

NAPOLEON THE THIRD. By Walter Geer. Brentano's, New York. $5.

Madame de la Tour's interesting diary, put into English by Walter Geer, especially the description of her experiences in America, is far more intimate and vivid than is Mr. Geer's own necessarily soberer account of the days of the Second Empire. Both volumes should be read to gain a proper survey of the France of a troubled century, crowded with events important in shaping the world's history. The two books cover the period between 1770, when the Marquis de la Tour du Pin was born, to 1873, when Napoleon III died. Mr. Geer is not blind to the Emperor's faults, but he insists on the man's genuine imperial qualities. Napoleon III stands forth in these pages neither an overrated hero nor an impossible demon.

DAYS BEFORE YESTERDAY (THE). By Lord Frederic Hamilton. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $9.

The author writes with simplicity and sincerity. He is chiefly occupied with telling us about his mother, whose portrait is the appropriate frontispiece to the book. She appears holding her grandson's grandson. We enjoy the accounts of her life in those days when she and her husband drove their own carriage across Europe and when the traditional ties between high and low in England were not marred.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

BATTLE OF THE BOOKS IN ITS HISTORICAL SETTING (THE). By Anne Elizabeth Burlingame. B. W. Huebsch, New York. $2.

A study of the development in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries of a critical attitude toward the classics and a record of the intellectual emancipation from their authority in science, philosophy, and literature. Miss Burlingame has skillfully brought together selections from Montaigne, Bacon, Galileo, Descartes, Hobbes, Temple, Bentley, Swift, Perrault, and Fontenelle and sketched the struggle of the modern mind toward liberty. With great discrimination and high scholarship the author has recorded one of the most dramatic and far-reaching episodes in the life of reason.

LOVER OF THE CHAIR (A). By Sherlock Bronson Gass. The Marshall Jones Company, Boston. $2.50.

A series of essays dealing with art, literature, and life in a charming and occasionally humorous vein and illuminated by the philosophic questioning of a central figure who by a process of distillation finally achieves an integrated philosophy.

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THE CHILD AND THE MOVIE

"WHAT is it you don't like about the movies?" I asked my neighbor's thirteen-year-old lad, who had just finished saying that he didn't care for the things they were showing at the local picture house. "Why, it's this way," he began. "The little children can't read the headings fast enough to make head or tail out of them, and so do not understand what it is all about; then the serial pictures are too exciting—many of the kids go home and dream about the episodes at night; and those old foolish love stories!" One could read the disgust on his face. "They never show us the things we would really like."

"Oh, mountain climbing, stories of adventure, funny pictures that make the children laugh, fairy stories. But not fairy stories like 'Jack and the Beanstalk,'" he hastened to add. "Mother took us to see that, and I closed my eyes during part of it."

Here is the opinion of an average American boy of thirteen whose taste has not yet been ruined by the lurid realism of the movies and who has a definite idea as to what he wants. A great deal is being said and written on the subject of motion pictures, and some there are who contend that the children want just the things that are being shown at the movie theaters; that they want exciting serial stories, love stories, the vulgar comedies, and so on. No greater injustice could be done our American kiddies than this gross misrepresentation of the truth. An interesting experiment for those wishing a spontaneous expression from the children on the subject of motion pictures would be to perch themselves outside of a public school, say, at the noon recess, when the children are joyously piling out of the school, and as they run by you halt one or two of them and ply them with a couple of questions on the subject. Before you are through a crowd of kids will have congregated on the scene, and you will be astounded by the revelations of the mental processes going on in the minds of these youngsters.

It is said that over thirteen million people—men, women, and children—attend the motion-picture houses daily, and over two million dollars are collected daily in box-office receipts. What do these thirteen million souls see on the "silver sheet" each day? If a statistical record could be made of the nature of the pictures shown, it would undoubtedly reveal the fact that the bulk of the filmed stories are nothing more nor less than the adventures of the Diamond Dicks and Jesse Jameses of twenty years ago, vitalized and visualized for vastly larger audiences than ever could have been reached by the paper-covered detective and wild West stories of those days.

There isn't a motion-picture house where a mother can safely take her children at random, or even when a supposedly good children's picture has been advertised, without risking the danger of having some impossible, foolish, hair-raising picture thrown in.

And are the pictures that are often advertised as being good for the children always dependable? How many people have gone to see a classic, with happy memories of the book and author, and found, to their sad disappointment, immortal scenes and situations desecrated and mutilated beyond recognition! How many mothers have sorely regretted taking their impressionable eight and ten year olds to see Robert Louis Stevenson's "Treasure Island"! A similar experience was in store for those mothers who hopefully trotted their youngsters over to the theater to see "Jack and the Beanstalk." A child's sense of justice may be satisfied at having the giant's head cut off, but the effect of visualizing this on the screen proves quite disastrous to its mental equilibrium.

How many times, mothers, have you found yourselves sitting in a motion-picture house, with your youngsters beside you, absolutely ashamed of being there—unable to give your child a satisfactory explanation of what the picture was all about? You and Dad wouldn't talk of these things in the presence of your children—would you? You want your children to grow up with wholesome concepts of life. You want them to have faith in simple, every-day values. You face the problems of sex tremulously. You yearn to instill your children with a reverence for sacred relationships. As they grow older, you become ever more anxious to guard your boys and girls from the pitfalls that surround adolescents.

The evils are so apparent to all that argument on the question seems almost unnecessary. What is the solution?

For the child there is an immediate solution. There is one fundamental, important change that can and should be worked out at once. It is the recommendation contained in the report of the special committee of the New York State Conference of Mayors, adopted by that Conference at Albany, on February 24, 1920. "Special performances," says the report, "for children and young people are the only permanent solution of a community motion-picture problem."

Through the efforts of various groups in the community (with the co-operation of the local motion-picture house where possible) special, carefully selected programmes for children should be arranged. This is not an idle dream. It is practical and can be worked out at once. It needs but the combined efforts of parents, teachers, and all public-spirited citizens to get together and work out a plan whereby the children of the community, rich and poor alike, may be provided with a clean, wholesome, artistic, and joyous form of visual entertainment.

DOROTHY C. FOX.

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Vol. 128 August 24, 1921 No. 17

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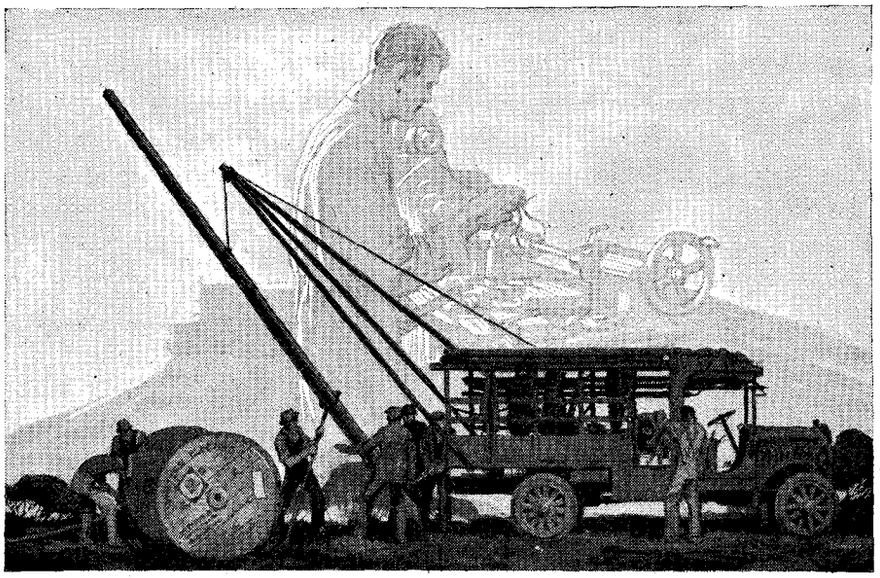
BY SUBSCRIPTION $5.00 A YEAR. Single copies 15 cents each. For foreign subscription to countries in the Postal Union, $6.56.

Address all communications to
THE OUTLOOK COMPANY
381 Fourth Avenue New York City



Tools of Industry

In industry, art, science, in fact in all kinds of work, good results require good implements kept in good condition.

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The Financial Department is prepared to furnish information regarding standard investment securities, but cannot undertake to *advise* the purchase of any specific security. It will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, and a nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service. All letters of inquiry should be addressed to THE OUTLOOK FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York.

SALES TAXES

BY HUGH SATTERLEE

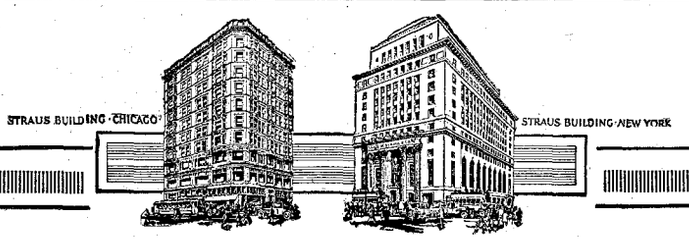
OF THE NEW YORK BAR

CONGRESS, as a practical matter, is limited to three forms of taxation, namely, import taxes or customs duties, the income tax, and indirect or excise taxes.

For several years the Federal Government will probably need to spend in the neighborhood of $4,000,000,000 annually. The problem is how to levy the taxes available to Congress so as to raise the required amount, whether it be this or some other estimate, with a maximum of certainty, equality, and simplicity.

With the Republican party in power the tariff is sure of full utilization. But there is a point, soon reached, beyond whic high rates prevent importation and produce no revenue. It is safe guess that customs duties can be relied upon for not muc more than $400,000,000.

For 1920 the income tax and the excess profits tax, whic is an income tax, alone produced $4,000,000,000, but the est mate of their yield for the next year or so, even if continue at the same rates, promises less than $2,000,000,000. Moreove with substantial unanimity the country demands that the exces



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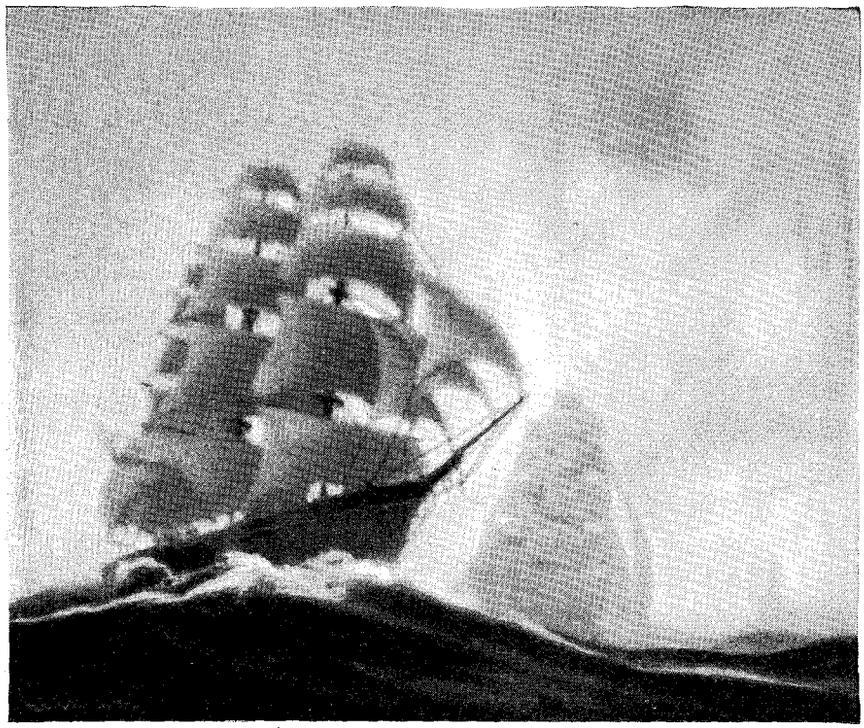
profits tax go, and for some of the same reasons the higher rates of surtax on individual incomes should be revised downward. On the other hand, in an attempt to equalize the taxes on individuals and on corporations, some form of additional income tax will probably be imposed on corporations to offset the surtax on individuals. The proposal which seems to have the most backing is to increase the income tax on corporations from 10 per cent to 15 per cent. But, in any event, unless the rates of tax on individuals with moderate and small incomes be increased, the income tax on individuals and corporations will do well to yield $1,850,000,000.

Having assumed a possible $2,250,000,000 from the tariff and the income tax, we are constrained to resort to indirect or excise taxes for the collection of the balance of the required amount, which would be $1,750,000,000 if the total estimate were $4,000,000,000. Of such taxes the Supreme Court has said that "excises are taxes laid upon the manufacture, sale, or consumption of commodities within the country, upon licenses to pursue certain occupations, and upon corporate privileges." Aside from the tax on inheritances, which is in a class by itself, excise taxes may practically all be classed as occupation taxes or sales taxes.

For 1920 the estate tax produced $100,000,000; the capital stock tax, which is an occupation tax on the privilege of doing business as a corporation, together with more than twenty-five trivial license taxes on brokers, circus proprietors, etc., produced another $100,000,000; and sales taxes on about seventy-five things produced $1,200,000,000. These taxes, if retained, would probably yield nearly the same amount for 1921. But the sentiment is strong that inheritance taxation should be left to the States, and the capital stock tax is administratively unworkable as well as imposed upon an anomalous basis. The lesser occupation taxes are not worth the trouble of collection.

We now approach the fiercely fought field of sales taxation. With an annual yield from existing sales taxes of nearly $1,200,000,000, and with the income tax, the other principal source of revenue, becoming less productive, it must be evident that the man who rails against every form of sales tax is wasting his breath. In truth, the problem is not whether we shall tax sales, but how we shall tax them.

Sales may be and are being taxed in a bewildering variety of ways. Sales of specified commodities may be taxed at different rates when made by the manufacturer, producer, or importer, as in the case of automobiles, cameras, and candy, or to a consumer or user, as in the case of carpets, jewelry, and medicinal articles, or by any one to any one, as in the case of works of art. Sales of specified capital assets may be taxed at different rates, as in the case of real estate conveyances. Sales of the use of specified kinds of property may be taxed at different rates when made by the lessor, as in the case of pleasure boats, motion-picture films, and Pullman accommoda-



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FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

(Continued)

tions, or by the lessee, or by any one to any one, as in the case of admissions. Sales of choses in action may be taxed at different rates when made by the creator or issuer, as in the case of corporate securities, insurance, and future deliveries of produce, or to a transferee, as in the case of stock, or by any one to any one. Sales of services may be taxed at different rates when made of one's own services, or of another's, or of both one's own and another's services, as in the case of transportation and telegraph and telephone service. In any of the above species the tax may be imposed on the seller or on the buyer, and may be required to be paid by rendering returns or by affixing stamps.

It would be hopeless to try to describe all the possible types of sales taxes. Fortunately, there are not more than five general proposals which boast any backing. These severally contemplate:

I. Specific sales taxes—that is, separate taxes on sales of specified articles when made by or to specified persons. In other words, the present system or lack of system would be continued and extended.

II. A manufacturers' sales tax—that is, a uniform tax on sales of all articles when made by the manufacturer, producer, or importer.

III. A retail sales tax—that is, a uniform tax on sales of all articles when made to a consumer or user.

IV. A turnover or gross sales tax—that is, a uniform tax on all sales of commodities, capital assets, the use of property, choses in action and services, when made by any one to any one.

V. A turnover tax on commodities—that is, a uniform tax at a rate of 1 per cent or less on all sales of goods, wares, and merchandise when made by any one to any one, with probably an exemption for administrative convenience of sales not exceeding $6,000 annually.

At first glance proposals II and III sound attractive, but the ineradicable vice inherent in them, as well as in proposal I, is that it is often practically impossible to determine who is the manufacturer or producer of a given article and who is a consumer or user. Who is the manufacturer of a watch—the maker of the works, or the maker of the case, or the jeweler who puts them together? Who is the consumer of sugar in the case of a sale partly for use on the purchaser's table and partly for use in the manufacture of candy to be sold?

Proposal IV has more merit. It uncompromisingly treats all alike. The thought of a turnover tax on capital assets should not be alarming. In fact, the stamp tax of 1/10 of 1 per cent on conveyances of real estate is such a tax. Nor is there serious objection to taxing rentals or compensation for personal services. But sales of stocks and securities present difficult features, and some exceptional treatment would have to be accorded them. There are reasons for so doing, but they require elucidation and might not prevail against a demagogue's obvious line of attack.

For practical present purposes perhaps proposal V offers the best rallying-ground for the opponents of proposal I, and the discussion will be confined to these two programmes. Suppose we compare proposals I and V from the standpoint in turn of certainty, of equality, and of simplicity.

A tax is certain if there can be no doubt of its application. In the case of the specific sales taxes, as already intimated, it is often almost impossible to tell whether a given article is in a class of taxable articles, or, if so, in what class, and whether a particular sale of a taxable article is taxable. For instance, ordinary coats are not taxed, but hunting coats are taxed to the manufacturer at one rate and smoking coats to the user at another.

On the other hand, the turnover tax on commodities would apply to all sales of all goods, wares, and merchandise. It would make no difference whether a seller were a manufacturer or a retailer or whether the buyer were a consumer or a middleman. The difficulty of determining whether an article was a particular kind of commodity would be resolved into the comparatively simple mental operation of determining whether it was any kind of commodity.

Equality, which furnishes the second test of merit, is a goal that no tax ever quite attained, but one tax may approach closer than another. The specific sales taxes are imposed at varying rates on specified articles, while other articles are not taxed. The enterprise that makes thermos bottles pays a tax on its products; the enterprise that makes fireless cookers pays none. The manufacturer of skates pays 10 per cent; the manufacturer of chewing-gum pays 3 per cent. The turnover tax, on the other hand, would apply at a uniform rate of 1 per cent or less to the sale of every article.

Of course the consumer eventually pays the tax, in any event. All sales taxes, specific or general, are consumption taxes. A well-founded suspicion exists that the excess profits tax and the income tax are often loaded in overflowing measure on the consumer. Certainly the tariff is a consumption tax. Until a tax shall be invented that will not burden the ultimate consumer the cant and rant about consumption taxes might as well be forgotten.

Where the inequality exists, then, between a merchant who sells articles subject to a high specific sales tax and another merchant who sells untaxed articles is not in that the former ultimately bears the tax levied on his goods, but in that prospective purchasers tend instead to buy untaxed articles which satisfy the same general need. The taxed merchant loses business. On the other hand, where every commodity is taxed at a low rate, there is no tendency to cu

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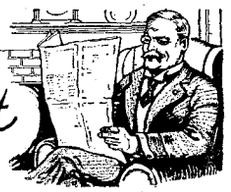

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tail the buying of any particular commodity.

With one exception the objections commonly urged against the turnover tax apply with equal or greater force to specific sales taxes. It is said that in a falling market the merchant could not pass along the tax. Sometimes, no doubt, he must sell at a loss, but he should be able normally to shift a 1 per cent turnover tax if he can shift his rent or a 10 per cent specific sales tax. Or it is said that the turnover tax would revolutionize business practice and encourage evasion. The avoidance of a 1 per cent tax would scarcely be worth the trouble of elaborate tax-dodging devices. Surely there would be more incentive to evade a 10 per cent specific sales tax.

The most plausible argument against the turnover tax is based on the turnover feature, from which most of its advantages are derived. If a shoe manufacturer sells directly to the consumer, one tax being paid, another shoe manufacturer and the retailer to whom he sells are at a serious disadvantage, so it is said, because between them they pay two taxes. Of course they do not pay twice as much tax, for the selling price to the retailer, on which one tax is based, would be less than the retailer's price to the consumer, on which the second tax is based. In fact, even where a number of turnovers occur it has been computed that seldom, if ever, does the aggregate tax exceed 3¼ per cent of the final selling price.

But the sufficient answer to this charge of possible discrimination is that, taking everything into consideration, it is unimportant. If a manufacturer and retailer can now compete with a manufacturer who sells to the public, as they can and do, earning their double profits and paying their theoretically double overhead expenses, a difference of a fraction of one per cent in the tax can be readily adjusted. Methods of doing business are a matter of choice, dependent upon location and a variety of other factors, the least of which would be this difference. The Harvard Bureau of Business Research in a survey of 197 retail shoe stores found that the percentage of operating expenses to net sales ranged from 13.62 per cent to 35.63 per cent, a variation of 22 per cent.

At best equality is relative. Consider the monstrous discriminations of the excess profits tax, which was sponsored by the most bitter opponents of the turnover tax! Is a specific sales tax of 10

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FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT
(*Continued*)

per cent or more on one business, with no tax on another business, less discriminatory than the turnover tax? Yet again, under the proposed income tax of 15 per cent on corporations as a method of rough equalization with the normal tax and surtaxes on individuals, an enterprise conducted by an individual might be taxed as low as 4 per cent, while a corporation in the same business with the same small income would pay 15 per cent, and an enterprise conducted by another individual might pay as high as 73 per cent (or whatever the rates may be reduced to), while a corporation in the same business with the same income would still pay 15 per cent.

The turnover tax, being imposed at the same low rate on all businesses, is fundamentally equal; accidentally it may sometimes result in slight inequality. The specific sales taxes and the proposed corporation tax of 15 per cent are fundamentally unequal; accidentally they may in rare instances result in approximate equality.

So far the comparative equality of the taxes has been considered in relation to the manufacturer or merchant. The consumer is even more important, because there are more of him. As he must willy-nilly bear the burden of something like $1,750,000,000 of consumption taxes, is the burden less galling in the form of specific sales taxes or in the form of a turnover tax on commodities?

Although the self-respect of the country cannot long endure if any portion of the people, whether rich or poor, is to escape its just share of taxation, let us meet the demagogue on his own ground and concede that the less the poor and the more the rich have to pay, the more meritorious is the tax. The specific sales taxes are supposed to be levied on luxuries and semi-luxuries, and therefore they fall chiefly on the rich. The only trouble with this conclusion is that it is wrong. Jewelry and fur articles would probably be regarded as heading the list of luxuries, yet it is not the occasional spectacular millionaire who loads his women with jewels and sables who pays the bulk of these taxes, but rather the thousands of working people who save for a diamond or a fur article for their wives and daughters. Of course when it comes to chewing-gum, candy, pipes, and soda water, for example, there is no room for argument. The truth is that the poor man pays an outrageously large proportion of his income in specific sales taxes unless he has no fun at all, while the rich man pays the same or a little larger amount in dollars and cents on taxable articles and spends a disproportionate part of his income on non-taxable things, such as furniture and expensive food.

On the other hand, with a uniform turnover tax the man who spends $100,000 pays one hundred times as much tax as the man who spends $1,000.

Simplicity furnishes the third test. Consider the specific sales taxes in relation to a department store, for example. The store may make some of its candy and purchase other candy for resale. On the sale of the candy it makes it must pay a tax, but need not on the sale of the candy it buys. The store may also sell jewelry partly to consumers and partly to small retailers. It must pay a tax on the jewelry it sells to consumers, but not on the jewelry it sells to retailers. In the case of its soda fountain the store pays no tax, but must collect a tax from its customers. Many other things it sells are not taxed at all. In making tax reports the bookkeeping department of the store must be careful to discriminate between taxed and untaxed articles, and taxed and untaxed sales of taxable articles, and must account for the tax collected by the store on articles taxed directly to the consumer.

On the other hand, in the case of a turnover tax, the store would merely pay one per cent of its gross sales for the month or quarter. Besides having no complicated computations to make, its returns would be most simple. The monthly or quarterly return would consist of a memorandum showing the gross sales for the period and the tax of one per cent thereon, and the yearly return would be little more than a summary of the periodical returns. In fact, it would be possible to combine the annual turnover tax return with the income tax return, for the latter starts out with the same figure which would be the sole basis of the turnover tax—that is to say, gross sales.

Although the annual budget of the Government must be brought considerably below $4,000,000,000, yet it is useless to blink the fact that substantial Federal taxation has come to stay. In the income tax, properly revised, we have a fairly sound and scientific tax, as taxes go, theoretically, at least, levied on wealth. But the income tax defeats its purpose when the rates are set too high and at best its yield is too fluctuating to warrant sole reliance upon it. It needs a complementary tax imposed on another basis. Such a tax is the turnover tax, more stable in yield because levied on consumption, which is another name for expenditures.

Revise the income tax; repeal the excess profits tax, the estate tax, the capital stock tax, and the whole mess of miscellaneous occupation and sales taxes which now confuse and confound; replace them by a uniform turnover tax. Such a platform provides a foundation for a symmetrical structure of taxation. The war shacks served their temporary purpose, but it is time to be done with them. Let us build for the future.

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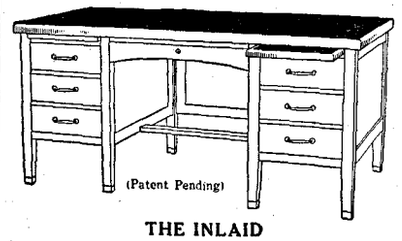

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